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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MUGHAL INDIA

(1526–1707 A. D.)

35698

Reference work, not to be issued out.

BY

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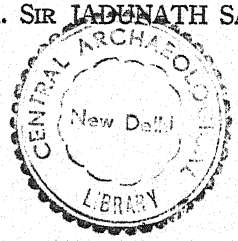
WITH A FOREWORD BY

DR. SIR JADUNATH SARKAR



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FOREWORD

Professor Sri Ram Sharma has laboured long and earnestly in the field of mediæval Indian history, and has particularly investigated the original sources bearing on the reigns of the Mughal Emperors and their administrative organisation and policy. In the course of his search he has travelled far and wide and visited libraries in places as remote as Calcutta and Darjeeling. It is a distinct benefit to students working on Mughal history that some fruits of his study have been gathered together in a permanent and handy form in this volume.

This little book, crammed with useful information, will be of very great practical help to those of us who want to carry on researches in the history of mediæval India. It confines itself to the six Great Mughals, from Bābur to Aurangzeb (1526-1707) and gives information about the original sources for this period available *in India*. In addition, Prof. Sharma has given detailed analyses and full descriptions of some of the rarest Mss. and of the "Administrative Manual and Gazetteer" class of Persian works. His exposure of the wholesale plagiarism by Khāfī Khān opens a new line of study in Mughal historical bibliography and de-

serves the fullest investigation. It is a discovery of first-rate interest.

A brochure on the Persian works relating to Indian history was written by Khan Bahadur Zafar Husain for the Archæological Survey of India; but that work, while also noting many manuscripts available in Europe only, ignored many well-known private and public collections of Mss. in India, and its author's search was not so exhaustive and long-sustained as Professor Sharma's. Hence the field was still vacant for such a book as the present one.

For some time to come this will continue as an indispensable work of reference and guide to our workers on Mughal history. Fresh editions will, I hope, be called for; and if so, opportunity should be taken to make the necessary expansion in certain sections of it. Professor Sharma's main subject of inquiry is the Mughal Empire, and hence his list of Mss. on the Deccan Sultanates makes no attempt at being exhaustive like the sections of his handbook which relate to the Delhi Government.

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PREFACE

Among the serious difficulties a student of Indian history has to encounter, when he starts research work, is the absence of a reliable guide to the material which he has to explore. In the following pages an attempt has been made to provide a handbook to the literary sources of the Mughal Period of Indian history. The work is not confined to avowedly historical literature alone. I have included several classes of authorities which do not usually figure in the history section of the catalogues of various libraries, but which are likely to be of considerable use to the students of the Mughal period. Thus I have tried to indicate new sources which, when utilized, would throw light not only on the political history of the period but on the various aspects of its social and cultural activities as well.

This work is entirely confined to a description of the printed works and Mss. to be found in the various public libraries in India. I have described the Mss. in the Punjab University Library, Lahore, the Punjab Public Library, Lahore, the State Library, Kapurthala, the Hardinge Library, Delhi, the Imperial Record Office, Delhi, the Muslim

University Library, Aligarh, the State Library, Rampur, the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Bankipur (near Patna), the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, the Sajjan Vanibilas Library, Udaipur, the State Library, Bikaner and the University Library, Allahabad. My thanks are due to the authorities and the Librarians of these institutions for their kindness in giving me access to their valuable Mss. and giving ample facilities for examining them. The late Munshi Devi Prashad of Jodhpur allowed me to examine some of the rarest works on the history of Rajputana in his collection. To Pt. Ram Karn of Jodhpur, I am indebted for his kindness in allowing me to examine three Mss. in his possession. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar very kindly allowed me to examine his valuable collection of Mss. on the reign of Aurangzeb and otherwise greatly helped me in estimating the value of some of these works. I am grateful to him for his kindly going through the typescript of the work and making many useful suggestions. I am still more grateful to him for his contributing the Foreword.

Some of the works described in this Bibliography are being described for the first time in these pages. Several others were described for the first time by me in my papers read before the All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda (1933), the Modern Indian History Congress, Poona (1935), and the Indian Historical Records Commission, (Lahore, 1937

id Poona 1938). *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī* was described by me for the first time n *J.R.A.S.* (London).

In the case of the printed works, I have not felt it necessary to give details of publication. Where Mss. are described, I have indicated the location of the Ms. that I examined.

I am very much thankful to the University of the Punjab for making grants from time to time in order to enable me to carry through the project and publish the results in a book form.

I am indebted to Professor J. F. Bruce, M.A. (Oxon.), Professor of History, University of the Punjab, for his reading the typescript. My former pupil and friend, Mr. Yash Pal, M.A., helped me greatly in preparing the Index. To Professor N. P. Newton, Rhodes Professor of Colonial History, London, I owe the inception of the idea which resulted in the preparation of this work.

If this book succeeds in making the work of the future students of the Mughal period a little lighter, I shall consider my labours more than amply repaid.

SRI RAM SHARMA.

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I

ORIGINAL AU .ORITIES ON MUGHAL INDIA

The Mughal period forms one of the most splendid chapters in the history of India. It is one of the best studied periods of Indian history as well. It is rather surprising, therefore, that no systematic attempt has yet been made at surveying its original sources as a whole. The Bibliographies appended to various monographs on the period have been compiled mostly with a view to enumerate—sometimes to describe and discuss—the sources used by their writers. The present study is the first attempt, however humble, at surveying our original authorities for the Mughal period from 1526 to 1707 A.D. as a whole. It describes published works and MSS. (in English, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Assamese (translations), Gurumukhi and Dutch (translations). It deals mostly with authorities which have been examined, however incompletely, by the writer and is confined to works to be found in various public libraries of India. Usually only those works have been included which were written before 1750.

Original authorities for the Mughal period can be divided into 11 classes. The first place is occupied by the *official records* of the period. Some of them

are preserved in the original ; but the greater part of the original official records of the period has been lost. To some extent this loss is made good by the *official histories*. Akbar appointed Abu'l Fazl the Royal Historiographer. His successors continued the office till Aurangzeb abolished it in his twenty-first year. The works of these historiographers were usually based on the original records of the period of which they made a good use. Whatever other defects they might possess, they form a sure guide to the chronology of the period and help us greatly in our historical studies. Neither the original official records of the period, nor the works of royal historiographers, the *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī* and the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, the *autobiographies* of the founder of the Mughal Empire and his great grandson, form a class by themselves. The Mughal period is further rich in the production of histories of India mostly written by Mughal public servants who wrote neither to imperial dictation nor for the imperial eye. Their works may be styled *non-official histories* of the period in the limited sense that their authors were not writing for their imperial patrons. But being the works of Mughal public servants they do not generally exhibit either an independent judgment or a different outlook on Indian affairs. The *provincial histories* and the accounts of the independent states—most of which were absorbed into the Mughal empire—often supply supplementary information and sometimes give the local version of

the Mughal policy towards these states. On administrative matters, there are several *Dastūr-ul-'Amals* besides a number of works written under other names but inspired by the common desire to throw light on matters of Mughal administrative practices. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* set the fashion for another group of works, *gazetteers of Mughal India* providing statistical, geographical and sometimes biographical material of utmost value. The Manuals of administration may well be supplemented by the *Letter Books* of the period which in the richness of their material offer an almost virgin field for the study of these and other problems. The memoirs of certain public servants, mostly revolving round their own participation in affairs, imperial and provincial, are as gossipy, detailed and useful as one would wish them to be. Some *Biographies* and Biographical Dictionaries were also compiled during the period or a little after and contain much useful material.

Besides these works written in various languages, we have the entire *literary output* of the period as well at our disposal. In Persian, Sanskrit and various local languages, a vast literature was produced under the Mughals which can be usefully studied for drawing a fuller picture of these two centuries of Indian History.

We have, further, the works of several types of *foreign writers* available to us. There are some histories of Persia and the neighbouring countries

which relate the story of the Mughal contact with these states from their angle of vision. Then there is a huge mass of material written by Europeans. A large number of European travellers visited the country. Their accounts also contribute to our knowledge of this period. The accounts of the various European companies trading in India form a very useful mass of materials. Some histories of the period were also compiled about this time. Then there were the Jesuit missionaries from Portuguese India who came to Mughal India at Akbar's invitation and elected to stay in Mughal India for some time. They have supplied us with a good deal of useful material which demands a careful study.

Of the archæological sources, the *inscriptions* are the most important. In Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Hindi and other languages of the period they form a vast field which can be usefully worked for a reconstruction of the history of the period. Many buildings of the period are dated. Some contain inscriptions of historical interest. Temples as well as mosques, usually bear dedicatory epistles, telling us not only of their pious builders but also adding something about their ancestors as well as contemporary rulers. Various forts have similar commemorative inscriptions speaking of the builders thereof and telling us something not only about their exploits but also of their ancestors. The *Rāi Singh inscription* in the fort of Bikaner is a very interesting example of this class and also illustrates

the dangers of believing a word recorded on stone to be truer than a statement of an ordinary historian. The *Rajgarh inscription* (in Uḍaipur state, Rajputana) forms a class by itself. Written by a contemporary poet whose other works also have come down to us, running to some eleven hundred verses, it gives an account of Mahārānā Rāj Singh and his ancestors besides throwing light on the medieval ways of performing several religious ceremonies. It is being edited by the present writer for the Punjab University in the *Punjab University Oriental Publications*. The copper plate grants also are very common in Rajputana, and, when genuine, they can be used fruitfully in checking the account of many a battle. Mughal buildings, gardens, and coins have their own tale to tell.

The present volume concerns itself with a detailed study of the literary sources of history alone.

II

OFFICIAL RECORDS

(*a*) *The Akhabārāt.*

Climatic conditions, the anarchy that followed the disintegration of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century and the wars of different states with one another did not very much favour the preservation of official records of the Mughal period in India. Delhi, the principal Mughal capital, was several times captured and recaptured by various parties trying to use the prestige of the nominal Emperor of India in their own service. Lahore and Agra shared the same fate. Various provincial capitals, when they became the seats of independent local dynasties, went through the same process. In Rajputana, the Maratha attempt to include these states within their own orbit and the civil wars that usually characterized the history of these states when left to themselves, produced similar effects. The results can be seen in the general destruction of the official records of the period.

Fortunately for the students of Mughal history, one state in Rajputana was spared these changes of fortune. Amber (modern Jaipur), the first to submit to Akbar's authority in the sixteenth century, managed to escape the usual fate of the various

states in Rajputana and outside. Into the causes of this singular good fortune, we need not very much enter here. It is for us to note the fact and the happy results that have followed from it. A large bulk of the official records of the state has been preserved. Of course white ants and other climatic conditions have been at work. The Records were stored here, there, and everywhere without any attempt at evaluating them. A singular good fortune enabled SIR JADU NATH SARKAR not only to obtain access to this priceless collection of official records but also to procure copies of several of them as well. Meanwhile a sorting and cataloguing of these papers in Jaipur was also begun with the result that by 1929 some of these records had been catalogued by the state authorities. But the Fates exhausted their favours at last. The supply of the copies of these records to Sir Jadu Nath was stopped and access to these records was permanently denied to all scholars. Several attempts have, since then, been made to persuade the state to open its Record Office to genuine research scholars under conditions that usually prevail in such offices, but nothing has come of these attempts so far.

Meanwhile the thirty-five volumes or so of the transcripts made for Sir Jadu Nath have opened up new sources of information to us about the Mughal period. The most important of the documents thus made available have been described by Sir Jadu Nath, after the contemporary fashion, as

the *Akhabārāt* translated as News Letters or Court Bulletins.

The original term, as also its two translations, describe very inadequately the nature and the value of these unique documents. They can be more justly described as the 'Minutes of the proceedings of the Mughal Emperor in Court.' The Mughal Emperors maintained a set of Clerks of the Court occupying a position very similar to that of the Clerks of the Privy Council in the Tudor times. Two of them were on duty every day by turn. They took down the proceedings of the Court. Every request publicly made, every paper openly presented in the court, every order issued by the emperor, and all enquiries made by him were taken down by the clerk on duty at the time. It was usual to read the minutes of the proceedings thus recorded next day in the open court. The place that these records occupied in the administrative machinery of the state can be well understood by the fact that no *Farmān* (royal order) could be issued unless the Clerk of the Court on duty certified—of course by a reference to his record of these proceedings—that it has been actually passed by the Emperor in the terms set forth therein. This was not a formal affair. The certificate had to be recorded in the *Farmān* itself and the body of the *Farmān* bore witness that the order it embodied had been passed by the Emperor when such a Clerk of Court was on duty. Not only that, the engrossing of the *Farmāns* on the paper used for

them and their sealing in the proper manner usually took several days if not months. Very often their recipients, if at Court, would wait for all this time and take home the *Farmān* with them. But sometimes it happened that they were in a hurry and would not wait for the formal *Farmān* to be prepared and handed over to them. This happened very often in connection with the officials newly entering upon their duties and unable to wait for the receipt of the formal Royal orders for their Jagirs. It was customary for them to obtain a certified copy of the royal order as recorded by the Clerk on duty with the supplementary orders passed in the same connection by the Ministry of Finance specifying the Jagir that they were to receive. They would then present this certified copy to the local revenue officials, present an affidavit that the royal order was being prepared and would soon follow and execute a security bond that if the order did not come, they would be responsible for damages and dislocation of administration. Thereupon, the local officials would allow them to enter upon the possession of their Jagirs.

These Minutes of the proceedings of the Court formed a very important part of the Mughal system of maintaining official records. Fortunately for us, there does not seem to have been any secrecy observed with regard to these proceedings till very late in the reign of Aurangzeb. As they were being read the next day for confirmation by the Emperor in

the open court, the agents of the various high public officials stationed in the *moffusil* would cause them to be taken down by their scribes and transmit them, in batches or sometimes singly, to their principals outside the capital. As they were being copied down, they became the Akhabhārāt, the News, of the Imperial Court. As they were transmitted through messengers they next became News Letters. It is in this form that we meet them in the Record Office, Jaipur ; copies of the minutes of the Emperor in Court made for the Rajas of Jaipur and sent to them through messengers by their agents at the Imperial Court.

A word about the shape in which they were transmitted. The occurrences of a single day would naturally be taken down separately on a single sheet of paper ; or when sometimes the minutes of a particular day would not be finished on one sheet, another sheet would be used for the purpose of concluding the narration. Now every sheet used bore at the head the words *Akhabārāt-i-Darbār-i-Mu'aḷā*, then would come down below the day of the week, the date and the month of the regnal year of the sovereign. Naturally, when a second sheet was used the formal heading reappeared again on it as well.

All these copies lay originally in the Jaipur Record Office. Tod, however, removed a part of them to England where they now repose in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Taking the

MSS. at Jaipur and London together we have all that is left to us of these records of the Mughal Court. They include copies of the proceedings of the Imperial Court usually, but we have a series of sheets dealing with the Viceregal Court at Gujarat and another with the Viceregal Court at Agra.

At present we possess the Akhabārāt for the regnal years, 20, 24, 25, 28, 31, 32, 33, 36, 40 and 43 to 51 of Aurangzeb's reign, some 5772 pages in Sir Jadu Nath SARKAR's transcripts. Unfortunately they are not complete. The year 47 has the place of honour; there are 410 sheets including several duplicates and there is a bulletin for almost every day of the year. The year 46 has 284 sheets, the year 44 has 319 and the years 45 and 43 have 274 each. Some of the years are very ill-represented; there are only 85 sheets for the year 28, 88 for 31 and 32, and 89 for 33 whereas the year 20, the earliest to be represented, has only 77 sheets. That Aurangzeb did not look with favour on the practice of the agents of the Rajas and provincial Governors supplying their principals with the news of the Court through these Akhabārāt is proved by his order dated September 25, 1699, forbidding such practices and ordering that the agents should furnish securities in order to assure the court that they would not indulge in such malpractices.

Besides furnishing us with the materials which might have been used by contemporary historians for their works, these documents reveal the inner

working of the Mughal Court as nothing else does. Here we find abnormal births of more than two children reported, presents made to the Emperor recorded, gifts distributed by him described, appointments made, increments sanctioned, reductions ordered, despatches from various officials read and replies dictated, revenue accounts tendered, leave to officers sanctioned, administrative changes initiated and proclaimed, movements of the treasury reported and protection thereof provided for, demolition of temples ordered, special appointments made for regular receipt of news from certain places, titles conferred and withdrawn, deserters reported and proclaimed, watches regulated, order of precedence in the court settled, and grants to scholars, theologians and students sanctioned. There are several human touches in these austere state documents. We find Aurangzeb changing and rechanging dates in the open court, making public enquiries about the health of some of his officers, sending physicians to cure them, preparing magical spells to the same effect, and giving public leave to his officials to call at the bedside of the sufferers. Here in the open court marriages were promoted and marriage portions fixed and granted ; tips received by the royal messengers reported and disposed off by the Emperor ; receipts of fruits and scents from distant places recorded and their disposal ordered ; deaths of prominent officials reported, arrangements for the bereaved family san-

ctioned, and officers appointed for calling at the house of the bereaved and terminate mourning. Purgatives taken, bleedings undergone, and dreams dreamt were all openly discussed and their effects canvassed. If the Emperor read the prayers for the dead over a corpse, the fact was recorded ; if he indulged in the pastime of changing the names of towns and forts, it found a place in the records of the Clerk of the Court. We find the important officials, high and low, discharging their duties and the routine of the court regulated. It is here that we can find the Mughal officialdom both at work as well as at play. Thus these records form a very important source of information about the Mughal period of Indian History.

The internal evidence of the official histories of the reign of the various Mughal Emperors proves that the Royal Historiographers were usually supplied with these minutes of the Mughal Emperor in Court in the original or in copies. But unfortunately, for most of those concerned, Aurangzeb brought under reduction the office of the Imperial Historiographer and, as we have already seen, he further tried to see that the practice so long tolerated, of allowing the agents of the various Rajas and provincial Governors to take down the proceedings as they were being read, was discontinued. The survival of these records at Jaipur proves that the latter order was not entirely obeyed. But curiously enough it affected the quality of the non-official

histories of Aurangzeb's reign compiled after his death. The *Maāsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* is the standard history of Aurangzeb's reign. Yet a comparison of this work with the *Akhabārāt* will convince any one that it is not as reliable as one would like to suppose it. To take one example. According to the *Maāsir*, Rājā Bhīm Singh, the founder of the Banerā Rāj (in Rajputana) died on January 7, 1694, yet the *Akhabārāt* goes on speaking of him till a later period. His death is at last reported to the Emperor on August 26, 1694, several months after the date given in the *Maāsir*. To take another case. The Khudā Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, possesses a MS. of a *Dastū-ul-'Amal* (Manual of Administration), professedly written some time after Aurangzeb's death. It gives the number of the Manasabdārs, public servants of various ranks, who served under Aurangzeb. The total number of all these servants holding the rank above Yak Hazārī (1000) is given as 277 while the Hindus numbered 54 among them. Yet an examination of these documents has brought to light 112 Hindu Mansabdārs of the same rank alone.

These examples prove that in these minutes of the Mughal Emperor in Court we have a source of information which was not available to the contemporary historians of the reign of Aurangzeb. With the help of these documents we can form a far better idea of India of Aurangzeb than given to us by any historian.

(*b*) *Official Correspondence*

Then comes the official correspondence of the period. We have several such collections—mostly in MSS—preserved in various places in India. They form a very useful source of information.

2. The *Jarīdā-i-Frāmīn-i-Salātīn-i-Delhi* (MS., in the library of the Muslim University, Aligarh). It contains letters written by Akbar to Khān-i-Khānān, Shāhbāz Khān, Razā 'Alī Khān and Hakīm Humāyūn Gīlānī, besides orders containing detailed instructions to Akbar's officers for the government of the cities and countryside, addressed not to the Governors as the text of the *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī* (i, 163) has it, but to all ranks of officers and commanders of expeditions.

3. *Letters of Abu'l Fazl* (printed). Despite the late Dr. V. A. SMITH's belief that these documents do not contain much matter of historical importance inaccessible elsewhere—an opinion formed without reading the letters either in the original or in translation—the examination of the first part of the volume which alone contains Akbar's letters has convinced me of their great historical importance. To mention one instance only; these letters contain Akbar's official declaration of faith as a Muslim after he had been accused of unbelief by his more orthodox brethren in faith with an account of the work he had performed in the service of Islam. These letters were collected by 'Abdus Samad some time after Abu'l Fazl's death in 1602.

4. The *Guldasta-i-Frāmīn-i-Jahāngīrī* (MS., in the library of Sir SALAR JANG at Hyderabad and Sarkar). Besides other interesting pieces, it contains Jahāngīr's letters to Shāh Jahān when he rebelled against his father. This is in verse and is probably a later compilation.

5. The *Inshā-i-Har Karan* by Munshi Har Karan, son of Mathrā Dās Multāni and secretary to I'tbār Khan, (printed). It was compiled between 1034 and 1040 A.H. (1624 to 1630). Its chief interest lies in its preserving official forms of Letters of Appointment thereby throwing light on the functions of different officials and Mughal administrative practices. It contains a letter of authority exempting a particular trader from the payment of *Bāj* and *Zakāt*. Another mentions appointment of arbitrators in a civil suit. There are many letters to local officials in cases heard in appeal by the Emperor. Detailed instructions about the assessment and collection of land revenue are to be found here. No student of Mughal administrative practices can afford to neglect this important source.

6. *India Office, Persian, MS.*, 370, besides notes on Shāh Jahān's administrative system contains some notes for letters of Aurangzeb. The author, Mīr Abu'l Hasan alias Mīr Kalān, compiled it in 1195 A.H. (1771-1772). There is a transcript in the library of Sir Jadu Nath SARKAR.

7. The *Ahkām-i-Shāh Jahānī* is a unique MS. in the Aligarh University Library copied earlier than

1163 A.H. (1750 A.D.). It contains letters of Shāh Jahān to Āsaf Khān, Amān Qulī Khān of Tūrān, Badar Muhammad of Tūrān, 'Alī 'Ādal Shāh of Bija-Pur, Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golkonda, Shāistā Khān, and Shāh 'Abās of Persia, besides a letter of Jahān Arā to Aurangzeb and a letter of Aurangzeb to Shāh Jahān just before the battle of Samugarh.

8. The *Munshiyāt* (MS. in the library of Sir Jadu Nath SARKAR) contains, among other things, a very interesting letter of Aurangzeb to 'Amdit-ul-Mulk giving him detailed instructions about the reception to be accorded to Prince Akbar who was reported to be ready to return to obedience. It describes the delicate ceremonials observed between a Mughal nobleman and a Mughal prince when they met.

9. The *Kalimāt-i-Aurangzeb* (MS., in the State Library, Rampur) compiled by 'Ināyat Ullah contain notes of Aurangzeb, addressed to 31 persons mostly about public affairs. It contains, besides other less interesting pieces, a letter of Aurangzeb to Akbar blaming him for his trusting the Rajputs. Another gives instructions to his officers about Akbar's raids on the frontier. A very important find is an order for the general arrest and executions of the Sikhs, wherever found, on account of the disturbances created by them near Lahore. Another letter contains references to Sāhū's objections against the scheme of studies Aurangzeb had laid down for him probably with a view to convert him

to Islam. A series of letters elucidates the much-vexed questions of Aurangzeb's relations with European merchants in his empire. Thus this Letter Book is a mine of historical information.

10. The *Kalimā-i-Tayyibāt* is found in two recensions. The Rampur MS. contains about 500 orders and notes of Aurangzeb which were later on reduced to the form of Royal Orders by 'Ināyat Ullah Khān, the compiler of this collection. The A.S.B. MS. contains 750 notes and letters of Aurangzeb. (The printed *Ruqqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī* also bears this title in one or two places.) It contains another of the rare references to the Sikhs to be found in the Persian writings of the seventeenth century. This mentions the fact that several thousand Sikhs advancing towards the North Western Frontier were destroyed by the Afghans. Besides it throws very useful light on many dark corners of Mughal administration.

11. *Aurangzeb's Despatches to Jai Singh* (MS., in the National Library, Paris, and a transcript in the library of Sir Jadu Nath SARKAR) refer to the War of Succession and Jai Singh's campaigns in the Deccan. They reveal Aurangzeb's methods of conducting warfare. There is a letter conferring on Jai Singh the power of making assignment of Jagirs to officers serving under him in the Deccan, thus explaining the relations between Provincial Governments and the Imperial Commanders sent on expeditions. A reference to Jaswant Singh's desertion

from, and attack on, Aurangzeb's army draws from Aurangzeb an angry comment.

The diplomacy of the War of Succession is revealed here in many of the letters.

12. The *Ruqāim-i-Karāim*, compiled by Sayyid Ashraf Khān, contains 166 letters of Aurangzeb to Shāh 'Ālam, Shāista Khān, Asad Ullah Khān, Mīr 'Abdul Karīm and Muhammad A'zam. In two places the names of addressees are missing. On the margins of the MS are letters mostly from the printed text of Aurangzeb's letters. The compilation, besides throwing light on many points of historical interest, explains the actual relations between the emperor and his commanders and governors. Sir Jadu Nath SARKAR has a transcript of this MS.

13. The *Ruqq'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī* (printed) contains 181 letters of Aurangzeb. It describes Shāh Jahān's daily programme of work which differs in certain respects from the one given in the *Bādshāh Nāma* of *Lahauri* and adopted by Sir Jadu Nath SARKAR in his *Studies in Mughal India*. Aurangzeb is found advising his grandson, Muhammad A'zim, to get himself weighed against different metals and corn twice a year in order to safeguard himself against bodily and spiritual ills. In it we find the daily cares of an Emperor's life exhibited, as also, Mughal administrative practices in their actual working revealed. The powers of commanders and governors, the relation between officials and newswriters, regulations about the assessment and collection of land

revenue, the position of Hindus at the Court, Mughal ceremonials, provision of pension for the relatives of dead officers are all found reflected here. The Jāt expeditions of Aurangzeb's reign, the Balkh campaign of Shāh Jahān's reign, and the causes of Dara's failure are also referred to. Aurangzeb is found insisting that his sons should not return the presents of *Amīrs* and thus cause a loss to the public treasury.

14. The *Dastūr-ul-'Amal-Āgāhī* compiled by Āyā Mal Jaipurī contains 281 letters of Aurangzeb, Shāh Jahān, Shāh Ālam, A'zam Shāh, Akbar, Karm Bakhsh, Mu'az-ud-Dīn, 'Azīm-ud-Din, Bedār Bakht, Abu'l Hasan Tanā Shāh, Shāista Khān, Asad Ullah Khān, 'Ināyat Ullah Khān, Feroz Jang, Amīr Khān are some of the persons to whom those letters have been addressed. It contains Aurangzeb's will, and a sort of Appendix wherein are brought together some wise saws, things to forget, factors making for a long life, and 14 causes of poverty.

15. The *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī* of Ināyat Ullāh covers 610 MS pages. They contain probably the only reference in contemporary Persian works to Guru Gobind Singh's struggle against Aurangzeb's officers and measurers taken in the siege of Chamkaur. The levy of the Jizya, Aurangzeb's relations with the Europeans, his Rathor troubles, his order forbidding the appointment of Hindus as Subahdārs and Fojdārs all find a place here. A rather interesting letter details the judicial procedure

in a Mughal Court, the employment of Vakils, striking of issues and the division of the burden of proof, service of summons and the agency employed for that purpose. Aurangzeb's relations with Rājā Bhīm Singh and Ajīt Singh are also related here. There is a MS in the Rampur State Library.

16. The *Ādāb-i-'Alamgīrī*, edited by Qābil Khan (MS., Lahore) besides letters of prince Akbar, contains 628 letters of Aurangzeb, about half the number written in Shāh Jahān's reign. They throw a flood of light on the period and reveal Aurangzeb in training. They form a valuable means of estimating Aurangzeb's character and throw light on many vexed questions. We find Shāh Jahān reprimanding Aurangzeb for his exhibition of an anti-Hindu policy. We can form an estimate here of Aurangzeb's relations with Shāh Jahān's officers. Aurangzeb's letters written during his own reign provide an important source of information, particularly for the Rajput War. We are thus not left dependent on the accounts of the chroniclers alone and are in a position to check their accounts.

17. The *Faiyāz-ūl-Qawānīn* (MS. SARKAR) compiled by Nawāb Muhammed Alī Hasan Khān, contains in its 688 pages letters of Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb besides those of Dārā and Murād. Murād's letters to Aurangzeb are particularly important as throwing some light on the question of their relations during the War of Succession. The first chapter (covering pp.

10 to 366) contains letters received by the Mughal emperors from foreign potentates. Pages 367 to 697 contain letters of officials and private citizens and the book is rounded off by a description of India.

18. The *Ruqq'āt-i-'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh* (MS. SARKAR) compiled by 'Ināyat Khān contains letters of Bābur, Humāyūn, Akbar and Shāh Jāhān, besides some of the letters written to them as well.

19. The *Bahār-i-Sakhun.* (MS. Patna) by Muhammad Sālih Kambhu, author of *'Amal-i-Sālih*, contains letters of Shāh Jahān as also of Aurangzeb to the rulers of Basra, Balkh, Tūrān, Persia, Herat and Governors of Kandahār besides some letters of Khān-i-Dorān. It is invaluable for a study of the Mughal foreign policy. It covers 320 pages.

20. The *Nau Bādah-i-Munīr* (MS. Bankipur) by Abu-al-Barkat Munīr contain Aurangzeb's letters to Golkonda, 'Abbās of Persia, a letter of Prince Aurangzeb to Mahammad 'Adil Shāh and an account of his conquest of Bedar in Shāh Jahān's reign. It was compiled in 1051 A.H. (1641).

21. The *Jaipur Records* (MS. SARKAR) form a very valuable mine of information. Ever since the submission of Raja Bhagwān Dās in the reign of Akbar, the Rajas of Jaipur played a very important part in the making of Mughal history. From Bengal to Kabul and from Assam to Gujarat, they served the Mughal Emperors in various capacities. Governors of provinces, Garrison Commanders of

many places of strategic importance, leaders of military expeditions, and Fojdārs, they served wherever their services were in demand. Fortunately for historical studies, this resulted in the accumulation in the Jaipur archives of a mass of original official records, which in its abundance of material, its variety of interest, and the length of time, is unsurpassed throughout India. Up till 1929 a large mass of material had been indexed and catalogued by the Jaipur Record Office—307 letters from the emperors and princes, 9298 letters to the Maharajas, more than 10,000 miscellaneous letters, and memoranda and 340 drafts of letters. As was customary in those days, the Rajas of Jaipur maintained a Vakil at the Court of the Emperor. The most important of the Jaipur finds are the letters written by these Vakils to their masters. They embrace a variety of subjects and besides transmitting the News Letters of the imperial court—already described—they contain a running commentary on Mughal politics of the day. The miscellaneous papers comprise official records of various types.

The date of these letters range between 1606 and 1717. There are letters of 1606, 1622 to 1627, 1646 to 1661, 1664 to 1665, 1669 to 1681 1688 to 1717. This correspondence embrace all varieties of official papers.

دستک ـ پروانه ـ مچلکه ـ فرمان ـ حسب الحکم
تسکب ـ پته تشخیص دیهات ـ حسب الامر ـ نشان ـ یاد داشت

ـ مظهر ـ فرد فارغ خطی ـ روز نامچه غله ـ طومار
ـ سند ـ یاد داشت جاگیرداران ـ یاد درشت پیش کش
ـ پٹه قبولیت ـ فرد عرض داشت

Thus we have personal despatches of the Emperors, letters written by Emperor's orders, notes on letters received, letters of princes, exemptions granted, ordinary official orders, memorandum, security bonds, statement of disputed facts, papers terminating civil or revenue demands, daily accounts of corn, accounts, notes of hand for money received, papers laying down the assessment of land revenue of villages, the acceptance deeds of cultivators and officials, submissions of officials, sanads (grants), list of Jagirdars, and lists of Peshkash (presents) to governors and Emperors. Here are letters from Jahāngīr, Nūr Jahān, Dāwar Bakhsh, Shāh Jahān. Dārā, Begum Sāhiba, Aurangzeb, Durgā Dāss Rathor, Mahārājā Ajīt Singh of Jodhpur, besides the reports of the Raja's representatives at the Imperial Court or the provincial capital. These last form a very important source of historical information. Besides a representative at the court of the provincial Governor, Maharajas of Jaipur maintained their agents at the Imperial Court who acted as a connecting link between the Emperors and the Maharajas. Their correspondence, besides throwing light on the position of the Rajput Rajas under the Mughal Emperors, touches on many affairs of importance. The Jāt rebellion

in Muthura and the surrounding district under Aurangzeb, the Mughal government of Kabul, the War of Succession, Dāwar Bakhsh's brief reign, Assamese campaign of 1669 and 1671, imperial expedition against Mahārānā Rāj Singh, the religious policy of Shāh Jāhān and Aurangzeb, the rebellion of Gujars in Deoli, Maratha campaigns of Aurangzeb, prince Akbar's rebellion, Aurangzeb's campaign against Bijapur, the only detailed notices of Guru Gobind Singh and his relations with Aurangzeb, siege of Udgir under Shāh Jāhān (1636), Mughal expedition to Nurpur (1641), Shāh Jāhān's rebellion of 1627, capture of Nagpur (1636) are, among others, some of the episodes in the Mughal history, light on which is thrown by these papers. Besides this they explain, as nothing else does, Mughal administrative practices, the actual methods of revenue settlement and collection, the quarrels between Jagirdars and civil government, the decision of cases in appeal by the Emperor, financial methods of the Mughal government, land transactions of this period, realisation of debts, farming of land revenue, the relations between the Mughal Emperors and the Rajputs, the rate of interest, discounting of *Hundis*, enforcement of prohibition under Aurangzeb, the Mughal monopoly of salt manufacture, the buildings of Shāh Jāhān, relations between different Mughal commanders serving in the same expedition, and the duties, temptations and difficulties of the news

writers. The detailed working of Mughal administration in its various phases in Rajput states and imperial territories all stands revealed here. Thus these papers are extremely useful for the reigns of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jāhān and Aurangzeb.

III

OFFICIAL HISTORIES

The Mughal emperors were very keen on getting as their Royal Historiographers men of letters who would so write about them as to perpetuate their memory. Shāh Jahān made several experiments before he was finally satisfied with the work of 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī. These writers had access to the official records of the period. In several cases they were busy compiling their works as the events they were describing were taking place. Their works had to be read out to the emperors and approved by them. Naturally it is as foolish to expect in these works any criticism of imperial policy as to search for any adverse comment on governmental action in the Blue Books issued by various modern governments to-day. We need not, however, call the writers either hypocrites or unblushing flatterers in either case. Drawing upon the accumulated mass of material to be found in the government archives and writing contemporaneously with the events, their works unfold a view of the history of the period which is very full, usually very accurate and always very vivid.

22. The *Akbar Nāma* by Abu'l Fazl was the first official history of the Mughals. Akbar desired

Abu'l Fazl to write a history of the Mughal dynasty since its foundation. In order to provide materials for the reigns of Bābur, Humāyūn and Sher Shāh, he requested his aunt, Gulbadan Begum, to write her memoirs of the reign of Bābur and Humāyūn. Humāyūn's ewer-bearer, Jauhar, was also asked to write what he knew about his royal master. In order to get a history of Sher Shah, Akbar asked 'Abbās, a pathan of high standing under Sher Shah, to compile an account of Sher Shāh. Their works—The *Humāyūn Nāma, Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'yāt,* and *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* became the basis of Abu'l Fazl's chapters on Akbar's predecessors. That Abu'l Fazl did not entirely depend on them, is clear from the fact that he several times differs from these writers. For the reign of Akbar, Abu'l Fazl seems to have been provided with official records of various events. It is likely that, for a part of his work at least, the Akhabārāt may have been placed at his disposal.

The method adopted in describing various events is chronological. The book is split up into sections formed by the regnal years. Within each section, again, events are described chronologically. Abu'l Fazl seems to be acting as a diarist. This, sometimes, has the unfortunate tendency of leaving the reader in the air for a time. As the account marches by dates, between the appointment of a particular commander to an expedition on a particular date and the account of the expedition—which may have

started operations much later—may be found sandwitched many other accounts. He uses the Ilāhī as well as the Hijrī calendar.

Abu'l Fazl intended writing a work which should have a permanent place in the literature of the world and thus perpetuate his own, as well as his patron's memory. He adopted a style, then so much commended, which sometimes sacrifices the spirit for the letter. It is verbose and rhetorical. As was customary at that time all over the world, an excessive adoration is shown towards the emperor's person who comes very near to becoming deified at places. Howsoever jarring it might be to our modern ears, we have to remember that Abu'l Fazl herein is the rule rather than the exception among his contemporaries.

At one time, it became fashionable, after Dr. V. A. Smith, to accuse Abu'l Fazl of deliberate lying. More patient research, however, has proved Abu'l Fazl 'not guilty' of this baseness.

Abu'l Fazl was murdered in 1602 and the account of the years thereafter is continued by Shaikh Faizī Sirhindī.

Shāh Jahān appointed 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī to write the history of the first twenty years of his reign in his twelfth year. An earlier official version of the history of the first ten years, (22-a) the *Bādshāh Nāma* had already been compiled by Mirzā Amīnāī Qazvīnī and commenced in the year 1635-36. But Shāh Jahān wanted his historiographer to

come up to the level of Abu'l Fazl in his literary style. Not only was Amīnāī removed from office, Shāh Jahān asked 'Abdul Hamīd to write the account of the first ten years afresh. Thus (23) the *Bādshāh Nāma* of 'Abdul Hamīd comes to us as the final official history of the period. 'Abdul Hamīd was followed by Muhammad Wāris as the royal historiographer. He wrote the account of the years 21 to 30 of Shāh Jahān's reign and styled it (24) *Bādshāh Nāma* (MS., SARKAR). We have no official account of the rest of the reign.

When Aurangzeb came to the throne, he continued the practice of his predecessors and appointed Muhammad Kāzim to be his historiographer. (25) The *'Ālamgīr Nāma,* an account of the first ten years of the reign was the result. It begins with Aurangzeb's departure from the South in 1658 for a contest for the throne. Moral scruples, it is said, led Aurangzeb to abolish this office.

The important place these official annals occupy in our study of the Mughal period cannot be better assessed than by trying to compare our knowledge of the period for which we have these works to depend on with what we know of such periods as have no such records. We will then discover how much indebted we are to these writers for their detailed accounts of the history of the period they cover. As official histories they, naturally, not only reflect imperial opinions about men and things but sometimes distort facts so as to suit their author's ideas about

imperial grandeur. They can be fitly compared with the series now known to us as *India in 1919, 1920* and so on, and published by the Government of India as its chronicle of the year under review. We should remember, however, that, unlike the modern official publications, these chronicles usually concerned themselves with the court circle alone. It is very seldom that we get an insight into the lives of the people in their pages. There is one exception however.

(26) The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* compiled as an appendix to the *Akbar Nāma* sets out with the avowed intention of describing not only the country but the customs and the manners of the people also and thus it gives us not only an account of the political institutions but popular beliefs as well.

IV

ROYAL AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

(27) The *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī* and (28) the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* form a class by themselves. Originally written by Bābur in Turkish, the *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī* was translated by 'Abdur Rahīm into Persian under instructions from Akbar. Bābur here seems to be thinking aloud and putting down, not only events of the moment as they happened, but such of his passing thoughts as well, as he thought worthy of record. Bābur had 'a great love for nature, a trained eye for beauty in all its forms, and a scientist's keen observation'. The result has been the production of an autobiography which is not only a political record but a naturalist's journal as well. Bābur seems to have been writing for his own amusement. We do not find much economy of truth—even unpleasant truth—in his pages. Not that he is always accurate. In his account of the battle of Panipat, for example, he appears to be implying that he had 12,000 soldiers as against Ibrāhīm's 100,000 whereas his army was much more than double this in strength. Some of his judgments are the results of a passing fancy; witness his sweeping condemnation of India and Indians when he first happens to chance on the subject. Yet when

all is said and done, his autobiography forms one of the most charming and valuable records. Ilminsky published the Turkish text in 1857. The Persian translation by 'Abdur Rahīm was, however, better known and more frequently used till Mrs. Beveridge published the Turkish text from a Hyderabad MS. and followed it by an English translation. Unfortunately for us, there are several gaps in his narrative even in the portion which deals with India.

Jahāngīr's Memoirs were the result of a desire to improve upon his father's practice and make use of his own scholarship for the purpose of making posterity acquainted with his own work. Jahāngīr pays as much respect to truth as Bābur did. If Bābur lets us into the privacy of his debauches, Jahāngīr calmly tells us how he got Abu'l Fazl murdered. Of course he does not mention his marrying Nūr Jahān for reasons which will go on proving a subject of hot discussion. His is a shorter record, yet when he describes the natural beauty of Kashmir or descends into portraying nature elsewhere, he comes very much near to Bābur in his skill in such descriptions. Now and then, when Jahāngīr tries to explain his conduct, we may be led to suspect that he is playing to the gallery rather than revealing his innermost soul. With all its faults, it is a human document. Jahāngīr himself wrote the account till the end of the seventeenth year when he asked Mu'tamid Khān to continue it on his behalf.

Even this continuation does not bring us to the end of Jahāngīr's reign and stops short at the beginning of the nineteenth year.

V

NON-OFFICIAL HISTORIES

It is well to remember that considering authorship, there are hardly any non-official histories of the period. Persons who were scholars enough for composing chronicles of their times were always sure to get a job either in the imperial service or on the personal staff of an officer. We have several works on the period written by Mughal Officials no doubt but not to imperial command. Naturally their works reflect all the prejudices and predilections of their class.

For the reign of Bābur, we have (29) the *Waqi-'āt-i-Bāburī* by Zain-ud-Dīn which, though generally based on Bābur's Autobiography, contains additions by the author, who was Bābur's Sadr and thus had many personal opportunities of acquiring accurate knowledge of events. There is a MS. copy of this history in the State Library, Rampur. It begins with the last invasion of India by Bābur in 1525, and ends with the death of Mehdī Khwāja at Biana. It seems to be a fragment, because though it begins abruptly with the account of Bābur's fifth invasion in 932 A.H., in the body of the work, there is a reference to an account of 931 A.H.

Covering the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn, we

have (30) the *Humāyūn Nāma* of Gulbadan Begum, (31) the *Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'āt*, by Jauhar, the *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn* by Bāyazīd, (32) the *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhī* by 'Abbās, (33) the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* by 'Abdullah, (34) the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* by Ni'mat Ullah and *Waqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* by Rizqullah, besides some minor works less easily available. Except the *Humāyūn Nāma* of Gulbadan Begum all other works are available in MS. alone. Akbar's aunt, Gulbadan Begum, and Humāyūn's ewer-bearer Jauhar wrote in order to supply Abu'l Fazl materials for the first part of Akbar Nāma dealing with Bābur and Humāyūn. Their works are admittedly based on their personal knowledge of men and things. Though 'Abbās as well wrote similarly to imperial command, his account of Sher Shāh is based less on his own personal knowledge and more on what he could gather from various sources. The Muslim University, Aligarh, possesses a very good copy of Jauhar in MS., a transcript of which was secured for the Lal Chand Library, D. A. V. College, Lahore. Copies of 'Abbas's work are very common in India. The State Library, Kapurthala, possesses a copy of *Makhzan-i-Afaghānī* written by Ni'mat Ullah in 1613 which is probably the author's own copy. It is a history of the Afghans and is very useful for a study of the Mughal-Afghan relations in various parts of the country. *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* of 'Abdullah (MS.), was also written in the reign of Jahangir and is another Afghan version of

the History of India under the Lodhīs and Surīs. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a very good MS. copy of this work. Copies of the *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn* by Bāyazīd are not known to exist in any public library in India nor is the *Waqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* available. There is a condensed translation of Bāyazīd, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898.

(35) The *Humāyūn Nāmah* by Khwānd Mīr was written in 1535, and supplies us with some information about the reign of Humāyūn, particularly the political institutions of the period. No MS. of the work is available in India. Elliot, however, translated the portion on Humāyūn's institutes in the *History of India as told by its own historians.*

Humāyūn's reign is described in many other general histories of the period some of which were written in the 16th century. Some of the works listed above as well do not concern themselves with the reign of Humayun alone and carry the narrative further.

Akbar's patronage of literature saw an unprecedented outburst of literary activities and we have a large number of historical works written during his reign. (36) The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* by Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn is a general history of Muslim India which becomes fuller as it approaches the Mughal period. It was completed in 1594. Though its chronology of Akbar's reign is a bit erratic, it is a very reliable work. The father of the author

played a decisive part in terminating the intrigue to oust Humāyūn from the throne after Bābur's death. (37) The *Muntkhib-ut-Tawārīkh* of 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūni again is a general history of India which records the reign of Akbar as it struck a contemporary orthodox muslim whose hopes of advancement in the imperial service had been belied. It has become fashionable to overrate this work probably because of the author's prejudice against Akbar. It can, of course, be fruitfully used as providing an index to the mind of the orthodox section of Akbar's Muslim subjects, but beyond that it is not very valuable except for its accounts of events in which the author himself took part. His last volume dealing with the saints, scholars, and men of letters, is, however, very useful and, strangely enough, provides a corrective to the author's fulmination against Akbar in his narrative. We find as many, if not more, Muslim divines and theologians flourishing in the reign of Akbar when, if Badāyūnī is to be believed, Islam had become a thing of the past, as in the reign of his predecessors. It is unfortunate that more attention has not yet been paid to this part of his work.

(38) The *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* by Muhammad Qāsim Firishta is avowedly a compilation but the author was Akbar's contemporary and his account of the various Indian provincial dynasties illuminates many an otherwise dark corner of their history. His is a general history of Muslim India and his

account of the reign of Bābur and Humāyūn should also be consulted. His narrative is based on earlier histories some of which have now been lost to us.

(39) The *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī* is often cited as an authority in many extant works on Mughal history. Sir Henry Elliot, however, failed to secure even a fragment of the work and had to content himself with a note based on the citations in other histories, nor did his editor, Professor Dowson, succeed any better. Thus the *History of India as told by its own historians* (Vol. vi) contains a very brief note on the very sketchy information available at the time.

Fortunately a fragment of the work was discovered some years ago in the State Library of H. H. the Nawab of Rampur. That the MS. in question is obviously a fragment is clear from the fact that there are cross references to a history of the reign of Humāyūn, (p. 34) which, however, is missing. From the references in other works, it is clear that 'Ārif wrote an account of India under her Muslim rulers. It is not possible to be confident as to the end. The MS. in question is the portion of the work dealing with Akbar's reign. It begins with Akbar's birth and closes with the account of a great fire at Fathpur Sikri in A.H. 987 (1579-1580). That, this closes a section of the work, is obvious by its ending with a prayer as is usual elsewhere in this work. It is possible that the author did not live to complete any later portions

of his work, but that he intended to do so is clear from certain references in the MS.

An examination of this MS., reveals the fact that Muhammad 'Ārif had attached himself to Bairam. When, in 1560, Bairam fell out with the emperor, 'Ārif accompanied him in his final march to Gujarat and was present at his death-bed. After Bairam's death, he carried out his intention of going to Mecca on a pilgrimage (pp. 97-9). This done, he returned to India and lived in Bihar and was presented to Akbar (p. 379). Presumably then he became an imperial servant and passed his days as a contented servant of the empire. Though the Jizya was remitted during the period 'Ārif deals with, the remission finds no place in the book which represents Akbar as a devout Muslim. That the work was written while Akbar was alive, is evident from the so frequently recurring prayers and their form. It is clear that the author did not outlive the emperor.

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(40) The *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* of Mullā Ahmad possesses no independent value being mostly abridged from the *Akbar Nāma,* as far as the history of the Mughal period is concerned. Written in 1585-89, it is a general history of the eastern world since the death of the prophet. There is a good MS., in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. (41) The *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* (MS. the Punjab Public Library, Lahore) of 'Abdul Haq, a general history of Muslim India, is useful as presenting the story of Akbar's reign by a contemporary writer who came to be regarded as a saint after his death and does thus provide a corrective to Badāyūnī's picture of Akbar.

(42) *Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Temūrya* seems to have been written early in Akbar's reign. The only

manuscript known is preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur. It is profusely illustrated and comes down to the twenty-second year of Akbar's reign. So far its illustrations have received more attention than the text. It is the earliest written account of Akbar's reign and as such a very valuable commentary thereon. The name of the author is nowhere mentioned. (43) The *Muntkhib-ut-Tawārīkh* (MS., Oriental Public Library, Bankipur) by Yahyā-Bin-'Abdul Latīf gives an account of the reigns of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar and was written towards the end of Akbar's reign. (44) The *Rauzat-ut-Tāhrīn* (MS., Punjab Public Library, Lahore) by Tāhir Muhammad was completed in 1605 and is a general history of Asia. It brings the history of India to the end of the reign of Akbar. The *Anfā-ul-Akhabār* (MS.) of Muhammad Amīn was completed in 1026 A.H. Its tenth book deals with the history of India bringing it up to the reign of Jahāngīr. No MS. is known to exist in India. (45) The *Zabd-ut-Tawārīkh* (MS.) (Punjab Public Library, Lahore) of Nūr-ul-Haq was written in the reign of Jahāngīr and contains a general history of India as well as an account of various provincial dynasties.

(46) The *Muntkhib-ut-Tawārīkh* (MS., Punjab Public Library) by Hasan, who rose to be a provincial Dīwān of Patna, was completed in 1611 and is a general history of Asia. Its last part deals with India. The first half of the (47) *Iqbāl-Nāma-*

i-Jahāngīrī by Mu'tamid Khān, deals with the reigns of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar. Though avowedly a summary of the contemporary accounts, it supplies some additional information as well based probably on contemporary knowledge. Its second part on Jahāngīr's reign supplements the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*. (48) The *Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī* (MS., Patna) of Kāmgār Khān gives another version of the events in Jahāngīr's reign and supplies us with a detailed biography of him as a prince. As such it is useful for the reign of Akbar as well. (49) A *Jahāngīr-Nāma* in verse by a contemporary poet supplies some useful information. The only MS., of the work that I have noticed so far is in the State Library, Rampur. (50) *Tārīkh-i-Tāhrī* by Tāhir Muhammad written in 1018 A.H. (1619-20) is another rare MS., in the same library.

The reign of Shāh Jahān found many historians busy in reducing to writing the accounts of his reign as well as that of the earlier Mughal emperors. (51) The *Majmul-Mufassil* (MS., Patna) of M. Muhammad written in 1065 (1655) gives details of the Mughal relations with the various provincial dynasties and includes an account of the scholars and saints of various places. (52) *Tawārīkh-i-Shāh Jahānī* by Muhammad Sādiq is a complete history of Shāh Jahān's reign. The writer was a Waqāi'-Nawīs under Shāh Jahān and claims to have written from personal knowledge. The only MS known in India is in the State Library, Rampur. Sādiq

Khān's account of Shāh Jahān's reign was purloined verbatim by that prince of plagiarists, Khāfi Khān, and passed off as his own without the least acknowledgment to his source. This naturally makes what we have known as Khāfi Khān's History more valuable for the reign of Shāh Jahān as it becomes the work of a contemporary who was Waqāi'-Nawīs at Agra and himself took part in the battle of Samugarh. (53) The Subh-i-Sādiq (Patna) of Muhammad Sādiq, a history of the world written in 1048 A.H., devotes pp. 1704 to 1981 to an account of the Mughal dynasty till his own times. Muhammad Sādiq was in the fort of Allahabad with his father when it was besieged on behalf of the rebel prince Shāh Jahān. (54) *Tārīkh-i-Bābur-o-Akbar-o-Shāh Jahān* (MS., Patna) by an annonymous writer is usually a summary. Muhammad Amīn Qazavīnī's *Bādashāh Nāma* (MS., Patna) was written to Shāh Jahān's order in the twentieth year of his reign and supplies a good deal of information not available elsewhere. The first 163 pages give an account of Shāh Jahān before his accession whereas the rest of the work ending at page 593 brings the account to the end of the tenth year. It contains an account of the provincial dynasties which brings their history up-to-date from where Firishta left it. (55) *Āsār-i-Shāh Jahānī* (MS., Patna) of Muhammad Sādiq of Delhi is admittedly a compilation from the standard Persian and Arabic works. It traces the history of the Mughals

from the foundation of their dynasty in India. The author is responsible for the statement that Bābur very nearly lost the Battle of Panipat. He gives us an account of Humāyūn's relations with the saints and scholars of his age. The author was a contemporary of Shāh Jahān.

(56) *Bādshāh Nāma* (MS., Patna) of Muhammad Tāhir who in the year 31 of Shāh Jahān's reign was the imperial librarian is another very useful work, particularly its supplement which gives an account of the revenues of India and a list of the Mansabdars of Shāh Jahān in the 20th year of his reign. It makes references to Shāh Jahān's linguistic equipments and tells us that he knew Hindi well. (57) Kalīm's *Bādshāh Nāma* (MS., Patna) in verse was written while Shāh Jahān was still reigning. Mu'tamid Khān's (58) *Bādshāh Nāma* (MS., Patna) supplies us with another summary account of Shāh Jahān's reign written by a contemporary. (59) The *Kulyāt-i-Qudsī* (MS., Patna) includes a biography of Shāh Jahān in verse. Bhagwān Dass's (60) *Shāh Jahān Nāma* (MS. in the Punjab Public Library) is a meagre abridgement of the history of India compiled in the reign of Shāh Jahān. (61) The *Intakhāb-i-Waqa'āt-i-Shāh Jahānī* (MS., Lahore) by Muhammad Zāhid is an abridgement of standard histories of the reign compiled in 1080 A.H. (1669-70) at the request of Shāh 'Ālam.

The War of Succession attracted many historians.

(62) The *Hālāt-i-Aurangzeb* by 'Āqil Khān Rāzī (MS., D. A. V. College, Library) is a contemporary account of Aurangzeb which terminates in the fifth year of his reign. It is the standard history of the War of Succession and seems to have been used by Aurangzeb's official historian Kāzim in his *'Ālamgīr Nāma.* (63) The *Aurang Nāma* (MS., Patna) in verse written in 1072 A.H. (1661-62) is a similar account and gives us the suggestive information that Jaswant Singh deserted Aurangzeb's army in Bengal and fell upon it because a rumour spread in the army that the emperor contemplated measures against the Hindus. (64) The *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh* of Sujān Rāi of Batala is a general history of India coming down to the death of Shāh Jahān and is especially valuable for its description of India of Aurangzeb. It gives an economic description of the country besides making mention of contemporary saints, scholars and teachers. The author was a contemporary writer and his description of the Punjab and his references to the Sikhs form a very valuable part of the work.

Aurangzeb's reign itself is rich in its historians though Aurangzeb forbade the writing of history in his twenty-first year. We have (65) The *Lub-ut-Tawārīkh* (MS., Lahore) of Rāi Bindrāban, a contemporary official, which stops short at the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda. (66) The *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Shāhi Nādur-ul-Zamānī* written by Khushhāl Chand in 1741-42 contains a useful ac-

count of Aurangzeb's progeny and high officers of state besides an account of scholars from the reign of Akbar to Aurangzeb. There is a MS. in the Punjab Public Library, (67) The *Tārīkh-i-'Ibrat Maqāl* (MS., Lahore) by Qāsim written in 1130 A.H. (1718) contains an account of the Sikhs. It is a history of Bahadur Shah's reign (68) *Tabasar-ul-Nāzarīn* (MS., Patna) of Sayyid Muhammad Bilgrāmi is another Mughal history of the times. It is based on the personal knowledge of the author or on information supplied to him by trustworthy persons who had personal knowledge of various events described. It brings the story down to the death of 'Ālamgīr. (69) The *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīrī*, of Ahmad Qulī Safavī, newswriter of Bengal, preserved in a MS. in the Library of the Muslim University Aligarh, is a rare contemporary account of Aurangzeb's reign. (70) The *Mīrāt-ul-'Ālam* (MS., R. A. S. B.) by Bakhtāwar Khān seems to have been completed in about 1683 A.D. It has a section on India. (71) The *Mīrāt-i-Jahān Namā* (MS., R. A. S. B.) seems to be another recension of the *Mīrat-ul-'Ālam* though in some MSS. it claims an author of its own. (72) The *Tazkirat-ul-Salātīn-i-Chughtā* (MS., R. A. S. B.) by Muhammad Hādī was probably written in Muhammad Shah's reign and comes up to his seventeenth year. It gives a brief account of the Mughal emperors. (73) The *Intkhāb-i-Muntkhib Kalām* (MS., Aligarh) by 'Abdus Shakūr contains an account of Muslim kings of India

uptil Shāh Jahān's reign. There is a separate chapter on Sind. The Aligarh MS. that I examined seemed to be incomplete. The work was written in 1107 A.H. (1695-96).

There is another work (74) The *Mufīd-ul-Mawarakhīn* by 'Abdus Shakūr written in 1071 A.H. (1660-61) containing an account of some events in Aurangzeb's reign. There is a copy, bound up with certain other works, in the State Library, Kapurthala.

Among the contemporary writers on Aurangzeb's reign, Muhammad Kāzim of *'Ālamgīr Nāma,* Rāi Bindrāban of Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh. Musta'id Khān of *Maāsir-i-'Ālamgīrī,* Ishar Dass of *Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī,* Bhīm Sen of *Nushka-i-Dilkusha* and Khāfī Khān of (75) the *Mutakhib-ul-Lubāb* occupy a very important place. But the place of honour among chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign has so far been occupied by Khāfī Khan's *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb.* He has been wearing a triple crown as an historian. His love of history and sacrifices he was prepared to make in its cause are, it is said, proved by his facing the wrath of Aurangzeb rather than abandon his work. His impartiality is borne out by his occasional flings at Aurangzeb and his policy. His unique place among historians of Mughal India is assured by his compiling an account of the entire reign of Aurangzeb, besides the history of the earlier Muslim rulers in India.

But a critical examination of his history of 'Ālam-

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gīr's reign proves him to be one of the biggest impostors among historians. He nowhere mentions himself that he went on compiling an account of Aurangzeb's reign during the life-time of the emperor. He refers to the *Maāsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* of Musta'id Khān which was compiled after the death of Aurangzeb. He claims to have examined Rāi Bindrāban's *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh* which was not written earlier than 1694. He speaks of the *'Ālamgīr Nāma* of Muhammad Kāzim which closes with the 10th year of Aurangzeb's reign.[1] To have used *Maāsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* and found out its defects, Khāfī khān could not have written his history during Aurangzeb's times. In another place he gives an indication of the date of composition. While describing the carrying off of Ajīt Singh, son of Maharaja Jaswant Singh from Delhi, Khāfī Khān adds that Aurangzeb went on describing him as an impostor till he was married to a daughter of the Maharana of Udaipur.[2] Obviously this could not have been written before this marriage which could not have taken place earlier than the nineties of the seventeenth century. While narrating the account of Muhammad Murād Bakhsh, Khāfī Khān claims to describe the events as detailed to him by his father, who was a trusted servant of Murād

1. Khāfī Khān, II, 212.
2. Khāfī Khān, II, 260.
This addition is not to be found in Abu'l Fazl.

Bakhsh, implying thereby that he himself had no personal knowledge of the events. In fact Khāfī Khān began the writing of his book in the year 1030 A.H. (1717) as he himself seems to indicate in the introduction to the first volume[1] and completed it in A.H. 1045 (1732), to which date he brings down his narrative in the second volume. Thus even according to our author the book was begun ten years after the death of Aurangzeb,[2] all the pains the author had to take concerned collecting materials from such sources as he could then command. He had, as we have already seen, certain general contemporary histories of Aurangzeb's reign to help him.

Though he has named some of these works, he has scrupulously avoided mentioning an author whose writings he used most. This is another historian of Aurangzeb, Abu'l Fazl. Khāfī Khān has purloined his history of Aurangzeb almost verbatim. Unfortunately, the only two extant copies of this work are found bound up with a history of the reign of Shāh Jahān, *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of Sādiq Khān. One of these copies belonged to Sir H. M. Elliot.[3] Professor Dowson, who examined it, rightly

1. Vol. i, p. 2.

2. Even Professor Dowson's addition to Sir H. M. Elliot's note on Khāfī Khān (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. vii, p. 209) wrongly asserts that Khāfī Khān compiled an account of the reign of Aurangzeb during the emperor's life-time, and kept it suppressed.

3. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. vii, p. 132.

came to the conclusion that the account of the reign of Aurangzeb that it contained, could not have been written by Sādiq Khān. He dismissed the matter there without probably examining the account itself in detail, as it seemed to him a copy of Khāfī Khān with only slight variations.[1] The other copy of this work is bound up with a modern MS., of Shāh Jahān Nāma of Sādiq Khān in the State Library, Rampur (India). An analysis of the work revealed the fact that though it seems to be a copy of Khāfī Khān, it claims an author of its own, Abu'l Fazl.[2] The author's name is mentioned in several places. We also get information about the important places he filled in the reign of Aurangzeb. He is further mentioned in the '*Alamgīr Nāma* and the first volume of Khāfī Khān. From all these sources we learn that he accompanied Aurangzeb from Burhanpur when he started for the purpose of disputing succession to Shāh Jahān's empire.[3] He was present at the battle of Dharmat, when he was promoted to the command of 1500.[4] Early in Aurangzeb's reign he seems to have been appointed Dārogha-i-Bayūtat which office he occupied for thirty years till the thirty-sixth year of Aurangzeb's reign.[5]

1. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. vii, p. 133.
2. Rampur MS., p. 577.
3. Khāfī Khān, Vol. i, p. 747.
4. *Ālamgīr Nāma*, pp. 53, 77.
5. Abu'l Fazl's *History of the reign of Aurangzeb*, Rampur, MS., p. 653.

Towards the end of the year 25, he was appointed Waqāi'-Nawīs of Burhanpur to hold it along with his old appointment as a Mīr-i-Sāmān.[1] In the year 1686, he was sent to the army commanded by Prince A'zam with some important instructions.[2] In the year 36 of Aurangzeb's reign, he was appointed Mīr-i-Bahr.[3] He seems to have either continued in the Department of Buyūtāt or was again reverted thereto, as we find him visiting the army besieging Panhala with certain important papers in the year 44.[4] In the year 46 he was employed as a negotiator on behalf of the besieging Mughal commanders to settle the terms of surrender with Parma Nand, the Commander of the fort of Khelna, which they were besieging. He seems to have survived Aurangzeb.

The author mentions certain events which he himself witnessed. He was present in Delhi when the Hindus from the city and the neighbouring places gathered together for the purpose of holding a demonstration of protest against the imposition of the Jizya. Earlier still he saw the musicians of Delhi carry the bier of music to the burial ground

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1. Abu'l Fazl's *History of the Reign of Aurangzeb*, Rampur, MS. p. 548.
2. *Ibid.*, p 577.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 653.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 699.
5. *Abu'l Fazl*, p. 707.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 529.

when Aurangzeb banished them from the Court.[1]

An examination of this MS., proves that Khāfī Khān incorporated it almost word for word in his own history; where he differs from its text, it is usually in suppressing the personal part played by Abu'l Fazl in various affairs. Not only is the prose narrative a copy of the account written by Abu'l Fazl, but the verses used by both to embellish their works are almost the same. There seems no reason to doubt that the original account of Aurangzeb's reign which Khāfī Khān subsequently made his own, was written by Abu'l Fazl. It covers, pp. 378 and 733 of the Rampur MS. It closes with the death of Aurangzeb, short of the account of the burial which Khāfī Khān gives. The work comes to an end with the verses found on p. 549 of Khāfī Khān, volume II.

It may be suggested that our author may have copied Khāfī Khān's account of the reign. This is impossible. To have been able to use Khāfī Khān's history which was completed in 1732, our author must have lived at least more than 105 years. During the time of the War of Succession he was raised to the command of 1500. To have attained that rank, he must have been about 30 at least. Copies of Khāfī Khān's history could not have become common till some time after its completion in 1732. To have copied it then, and that

1. Abu'l Fazl, p. 491.

too up to the account of Aurangzeb's death, suppressing the account of Aurangzeb's burial, would seem unreasonable. To suppose that just as Khāfī Khān used Sādiq Khān's *Shāh Jahān Nāma* for the reign of Shāh Jahān, he may have used Abu'l Fazl's Annals of Aurangzeb's reign is more reasonable. A writer of a history of Mughal India up to his own times is more likely to use a work on a particular reign, than a writer on the reign of one emperor to lift it from a universal history. The internal evidence of MS. makes it possible for Khāfī Khān to have used a work which might have been compiled by a contemporary of Aurangzeb. To purloin Khāfī Khān's work and add to its account his own participation in certain events seems impossible and unlikely for Abu'l Fazl. The balance of plagiarism is turned against Khāfī Khān when we remember that his account of Shāh Jahān's reign is also indebted to another contemporary work. This seems to have been Khāfī Khān's usual method of writing history!

The fact that what we have long known as Khāfī Khān's account of Aurangzeb's reign turns out to be written by an important public servant of Aurangzeb increases its value. It ceases to be the compilation of an historian who, with difficulty, ascertained the truth some years after the passage of those events. It becomes the work of a man who long participated in many important public events, and who as a newswriter and Dārogha-i-Buyūtāt,

had abundant opportunities of learning the true account of many important public events. It becomes an important document of Aurangzeb's reign precisely because it ceases to be *Khāfī Khān's* work.

(76) *The Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī* (MS., Sarkar) of Ishar Dāss gives us a contemporary account of Aurangzeb's reign till his 34th year. (77) The *Āina-i-Bakht* of Bakhtawar Khan, includes an account of scholars, poets, poetesses, and physicians of the times. Pages 75 to 101 cover the Mughal period. It devotes several sections to the history of the Deccan, Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpore, Bengal, Sind and Kashmir. There is a MS. in the Rampur State Library.

(78) The *Sarvdeśavritānt saṁgrah* has come down to us in a unique Sanskrit MS. preserved in the India Office, London. It is a history of the Mughals up till Akbar's reign. In its present condition the MS. is very defective and incomplete. The arrangement of the leaves seems to have been done by some modern hand but the original scribe too seems to have copied from a MS. which was not in proper order. The result is the greatest confusion imaginable. The work opens with an account of Akbar's birth at Amar Kot abruptly; but leaf 1b starts with a verse which is numbered 4 and has no connection with what has gone on the other side of the leaf. The name of the work or of the author is not mentioned in the body of the work; but at the end there is a colophon in a hand

different from that of the scribe where the work is named as above and its authorship is ascribed to Maheś Thākur. The work has not so far been analysed or described. The following table of contents tries to reconstruct the original arrangement of the work based on an examination of a photographed copy of the work in the Punjab University Library, Lahore.

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VI

PROVINCIAL HISTORIES

The history of the various provincial dynasties attracted a large number of men. Some of them, like their imperial prototypes, wrote for their princely patrons, others busied themselves in chronicling the events of their own or earlier times for the fun of the thing. We have several works of this type.

(79) The *Tārīkh Muhammad Qutb Shāh* (MS., Sarkar) was written in 1027 A.H. (1618) by Habīb Ullah. It is a history of Golkonda. (80) The *Tārīkh-i-'Alī Ādil Shāh Sānī* of (MS. Sarkar) Nūr Ullah is a history of Bijapur. The last date mentioned is November 12, 1667. The *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. IV, in its Bibliography to Chapter IX wrongly makes it a modern compilation. It seems to have been written by the orders of the Sultan himself. (81) The *Qutb Nāma* of Abdullah, (MS., Sarkar), (82) the *Tawārīkh-i-Haft Kursī* (MS., Sarkar) of Bijapur, a late compilation written for an English officer, (83) the *Muhammad Nāma* of Zahūr bin Zahūrī begun in the year 1641 by Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh's orders—, the only *MS.* of which is in State Library, Kapurthala—, (84) the *Tazkirat-ul-Malūk* (MS., Sarkar) by Mirza Rafī-

the reign of Jahāngīr, are some of the provincial histories of the Deccan. The *Qutb Nāma* brings the story to the conquest of Golkonda by Aurangzeb. It refers to a famine in the Mughal camp when Bijapur was invaded by the Mughals in the reign of Shāh Jahān. The *Tazakirat-ul-Malūk* gives us some information about Akbar's and Jahāngīr's religious beliefs as well. The *Muhammad Nāma* throws some light on the Shivājī-Afzal Khān episode by stating that several years earlier Afzal Khān had tempted another rebel against Bijapur by the offer to save his life if he surrendered and then had him murdered. (82) The *Nuskha-i-Dilkushā* by Bhīm Sen is a contemporary account of Deccanese affairs during Aurangzeb's reign. There is only one MS. extant in the British Museum. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has, however, a transcript of this MS. in his Library. The following analysis provides a detailed table of contents of this unique MS.

Praises of God and of the Emperor ..	(4-b)
Author's account of the various appointments held by him	(6-b)
Illness of Shāh Jahān, first defeat of Shujā'	(7-b)
Defeats of Jaswant and Dārā, imprisonment of Shāh Jahān	(16-a)
Captivity of Murād and fall of Dārā and Shujā'	(29-a)

Farmān to Mīr Jumla, his appointment as the Sūbahdār of Bengal .. .. (48-a)
Shivājī's early career .. .. .. (50-b)
Temple demolition by Aurangzeb, Jāt rising near Mathura ; Shivājī's war with the Siddīs of Janjīra ; Jai Singh forces Shivājī to submit ; Shivājī's audience with the Emperor and flight. (52-b)
Diler Khān's quarrel with prince Shāh 'Ālam, Viceroy of the Deccan .. (58-b)
Battle with Shivājī near Salher .. (60-b)
Rising of the Satnāmīs .. .. (61-b)
Disasters to the imperial arms in Afghanistan .. .. .. (62-b)
Death of Jaswant Singh, escape of his children ; the Jizya ; the Rajput War, Akbar's rebellion .. .. (73-b)
The war with the Rathors .. .. (85-a)
Prince A'zam's expeditions into Bijapur and Shāh 'Ālam's into the Konkan .. (86-b)
Conquest of Golkonda .. .. (89-a)
Rising of Pahār Singh Gaur in Sironj. (94-a)
Conquest of Bijapur .. .. .. (97-a)
Sambhājī and Prince Akbar .. .. (108-b)
Shāh 'Ālam's imprisonment .. .. (113-b)
Capture of Salher .. .. .. (116-b)
Risings in Bundelkhand .. .. (119-b)
Desultory fighting in the Deccan .. (120-a)
Akbar's flight to Persia .. .. (121-b)

Rebellion of Durjan Singh Hāda and disturbances in Rajputana .. .. (122-b)
Capture of Adoni .. .. .. (124-a)
Capture of Bangalore .. .. (127-b)
Rising of Rājā Rām Jāt near Agra .. (131-b)
Rising of Gopāl Singh Gaur near Gwalior .. .. (135-a)
Rising of Churāman Jāt at Sansani .. (135-b)
Capture of Rustam Khān by Santā Ghorpare .. .. (140-b)
Rupa Bhonsla loots Siddī 'Abdul Qadir (142-b)
The blinding of Ghazī-ud-dīn Khān Bahādur Fīroz Jang .. .. (145-a)
Campaign against Sambhājī .. .. (146-b)
Capture and execution of Sambhājī .. (149-b)
Capture of many Maratha forts .. (156-b)
Flight of Rājā Rām .. .. (159-b)
Aghā Khān slain near Agra .. .. (164-b)
Submission of Durgā Dās .. .. (165-a)
End .. .. (169-a)

(88) The *Basātīn-us-Salātīn* by Mirza Ibrāhīm is a modern compilation made in the nineteenth century (1824) preserving, however, many original documents not easily available elsewhere.

Sind and Western India also attracted many writers. The independent dynasties of Gujarat, Sind and the neighbouring provinces had their historians and when these territories were conquered by the Mughals, it was thought necessary to detail their histories. (89) The *Tārīkh-i-Sindh* (MS. Udai-

pur) by Muhammad Ma'sūm is a well-known work. Ma'sūm was in Mughal service under Akbar and Jahāngīr. He died in 1610. It contains the only reference to the famine which visited Sind in 1540-41.

(90) The *Belgār Nāma* written by the orders of a local Chief, Shāh Qāsim Khān, is a rare chronicle in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur. The last date mentioned in the MS. is 1033 A.H. (1623-24).

(91) The *Tārīkh Tāhrī* of Tāhir Muhammad, son of Sayyid Hasham of Thatta, is another history of Sind.

Gujarat claims many historians of its own, for the period.

(92) The *Mīrāt-i-Sikandrī* of Sikandar-bin-Muhammad was completed in 1613. Folios 275-a to 363-b of the Patna MS. cover the history of the relations of the Mughal emperors with Gujarat. It has been printed.

(93) The *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, though compiled later in the eighteenth century, (1748 A.D.) by 'Alī Muhammad Khān, is admittedly based on contemporary information. Its main value lies in the reproduction of many orders and instructions issued by the Mughal emperors. It also gives a very full descriptive account of Gujarat.

(94) The *Tārīkh-i-Gujarat* by Tarab 'Alī, written in Akbar's reign, though based mostly on the Akbar Nāma and other contemporary documents,

sometimes supplies additional useful information as well.

(95) An Arabic History of Gujarat by 'Abdulla Muhammad, written soon after 1611, is again based on many original authorities. Though in Arabic, its copious index compiled by the editor, Sir Denisson Ross, provides a very useful abstract of its contents.

Rather strangely Bengal does not claim many historians of its own. (96) The *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī* (MS. Sarkar) was written in Shāh Jahān's reign by Shitāb Khān who filled various appointments in Bengal under Jahāngīr. A useful English abstract with notes of the larger part of it has been published by the present writer in the *Journal of Indian History,* Madras, as Bengal under Jahāngīr, and in the *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Calcutta, as Prince Shāh Jahān in Bengal. An English translation with notes has now been issued by the Government of Assam. It would have been better if the notes had been omitted altogether or expanded so as to make it possible to use the work profitably. The work requires to be used cautiously. Shitāb Khān went to Bengal with his father, Ihtamām Khān, who was appointed the Superintendent of Artillery when Islām Khān was appointed the Governor of Bengal in 1608 by Jahāngīr. He describes himself as a Khāna Zād which probably implies that he was brought up in the royal household. For some time he served with his father in the artillery in Bengal.

On his father's death he seems to have entered the imperial service in some minor capacity. He is one of the most vainglorious writers of history, whose one aim seems to have been to exalt his own services which seem to have been not at all recognised either by his colleagues or contemporaries. Many a time he exaggerates beyond all measures—witness the account of his travelling at night in a boat rowed by 130 boatmen from Patladah to Tuk in Book first, chapter 11. Whenever the Mughals win a victory, he is the mainspring thereof; whenever a disaster befalls them, it is due to the jealousy of his superiors. The author goes to the length of claiming that he could perform miracles and solemnly records instances of his powers. His account of various appointments made in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa even is misleading; he juggles with dates, distorts facts, and does not stop at mud throwing, all in order to prove his own version of events.

The work, however, would amply repay a careful perusal. Besides providing a detailed account of the Mughal conquest and occupation of Bengal and Assam under Jahāngīr, it throws welcome light on many administrative practices and enables us to judge how far imperial orders were carried out in the far off provinces. It supplies us with a detailed account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It gives a very valuable account of social customs and religious beliefs.

(97) The *Rayāz-us-Salātīn* by Ghulām Husain

is another history of Bengal mostly based on contemporary accounts. It was completed in 1787-88.

(98) Salim Ullah's History of Bengal (*Tārīkh-i-Bengal*) is a useful compilation of later times. (99) The *Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā'ī* (MS. Patna) by Muhammad Ma'sūm is an account of Shāh Shujā' as Governor of Bengal by a writer who was present there himself during this period.

The Mughal campaign in Assam under Aurangzeb attracted the attention of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Tālish whose (100) the *Tārīkh-i-Āshām* (MS. R. A. S. B.) is a very useful account of the Mughal expedition thereto. There are two types of MSS. available. One stops short at Mīr Jumla's disasters and the other includes Shāista Khān's campaigns as well. It was written in 1663 and seems to have been utilised in the compilation of 'Ālamgīr Nāma, the official history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign. Besides giving an account of these expeditions, it gives a very vivid account of the country and its people.

(101) The *Tārīkh-i-A'zamī* is a very brief account of Kashmir rich in its stories of saints, scholars and theologians. It was written early in 1748 by Mullā Muhammad A'zam. The third part describes the Mughal conquest of, and rule in, Kashmir upto the date of its compilation. Several of the works, its writer used, are no longer available.

(102) The *Latāif-ul-Akhbār* of Badī'-uz-Zamān (MS. Sarkar) is an account of the Mughal expedi-

tion to Qandahar under Dārā Shikoh by an eye-witness. It furnishes the grounds for that quarrel between Jai Singh and Dārā which led to the latter's undoing in the so-called War of Succession.

(103) The *Jināt-ul-Fardūs* (MS. Patna) by Mirzā Muhammad was written in 1714 A.D. and is a history of the different provincial dynasties of India. It contains here and there references to the absorption of most of these kingdoms in the Mughal empire. It gives the date of Sher Shāh's royal coronation as well.

The appointment of Abu'l Fazl as the Historiographer Royal and the publication of the *Akbar Nāma* stimulated the writing of history in other parts of India as well. In Rajputana it was followed by the compilation of chronicles. (104) The *Khyāt* of Mehta Nensī is a general history of Rajputana. The author was for several years the Prime Minister of Mahārāja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. (105) The Kavirāj's *Khyāt* (MS. Jodhpur) and (106) the Mundhyār *Khyāt* (MS. Jodhpur) contain histories of Jodhpur till about the reign of Aurangzeb when they seem to have been composed. They were described by the present writer in the *Modern Review* for April, 1923, as the Three Chronicles of Mewar (see appendix 2).

(107) The *Amar Kāvya Vanśāvalī* (MS. Sajjan Vanivilas Library, Udaipur) is an account in verse of the deeds of the Rānās of Mewar bringing the story to the accession of Mahārānā Rāj

Singh. It was written by Ranchhora Bhatta in the reign of Mahārānā Rāj Singh. It contains 1408 verses, covering 103 leaves. Leaf 82 is missing. It begins the story of the Rānās of Mewar from their very origin. The MS. is very defective on account of the carelessness of the scribe. The account though written within a century of Pratāp's death, errs in some places even in its account of that great hero of Rajputana. It was from this work that Tod wrongly derived the information that Salīm led the Mughal forces in the Battle of Haldi Ghat. This is due to the confusion between Shaikhājī, a son of Pratāp, and Akbar's pet name for Salīm, Shaikhū. The confusion of Ambera and Amara is responsible for some more mistakes.

(108) *Udaipur Kī Khyāt,* (MS. in the R. A. S. B., Dr. Tessitori collection) is a curious MS. without a beginning and without a proper end. Thus neither the name of the scribe nor that of the author is given. Dr. Tessitori in his *Catalogue of Rajput Chronicles* described the MS. in the Fort at Bikaner as 100 years old. It contains many blank pages, it is arguable that it is a copy of some older MS. It gives in a bald outline, the history of the reigns of the rulers of Chitor until the reign of Rānā Rāj Singh II who came to the throne in 1753. There is a MS. in the Sajjan Vanivilas Library, Udaipur.

(109) The *Khyāt of Bikaner,* (MS. the Fort Bikaner) was written by an anonymous writer in the reign of Rājā Rāi Singh of Bikaner.

There is a good deal of misunderstanding about the extent, nature and reliability of the Rajput Chronicles. Of course they are not always as full in their accounts as Mughal official histories. It is true some of them that are in verse are, as much if not more, lacking in a sense of historical proportion as some of the Persian works in verse. But besides the learned accounts of bards, there are family histories of various Rajput tribes—in most cases contemporary or semi-contemporary compilations—which form a very useful source of information. Dr. Tessitori examined a part of this material while engaged on his Historic and Bardic Survey of Rajputana and his Catalogue of Historical and cognate works in Jodhpur and Bikaner published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal would silence much misinformed criticism of Rajputs and their lack of historical materials. His Annual Reports of the Historic and Bardic Surveys published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* form a mine of information. What embarrasses a student of history in dealing with the history of Rajputana is not the lack of material but its abundance.

In Assam we have several chronicles of the local dynasties as also a (110) *Chronicle of the Kingdom of Delhi.* This is now available in an English version of Prof. S. K. Bhuyan which appeared in the *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad.

(111) The *Buranji from Khulnum and Khulnai* was translated into English for the Government of

Assam. There is a copy in the Assam Secretariat. I have examined the copy of this MS. in the Library of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

Some later chronicles have now been published in the original by the Government of Assam.

The Marathas came into conflict with the Mughals in the later half of the seventeenth century. So far as their activities affected Mughal India we find them reflected in several works. Some of the Dutch, Portuguese and French notices of Shivājī have been brought together in translation by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen in his *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji* which also includes a chapter on the extracts from the English Records. (112) The Portuguese *Life of Celebratue Sevagy* by Cosme da Guarda was written in 1695 and, undoubtedly, reflects the opinion his Portuguese neighbours had formed about Shivājī. Barihelemy Carrie's chapters on (113) the *History of Shivaji* and (114) *Sequel to the History of Shivaji* form a part of his French *Voyages to East Indes,* published in 1669 and make a mixed bag of bazar gossip and ascertained fact carefully written. Martin's French Memoirs contain 'the best contemporary account' of (115) The *Karnatak Expedition of Shivaji* in 1678-79. The work consists of a Journal faithfully kept as the various events were taking place. Francois Valentine's (116) *Description of the City of Surat and the Lives of the great Mughals* give us a Dutch account of Shivājī which supplies useful information.

Among the Maratha sources (117) The *Life of Siva Chhatrapati* by Krishnajī Anant Sabhāsad was written at Jinji in 1694. The author was a faithful servant of Shivājī and though he wrote while he was very old, his is the earliest and the most valuable account of Shivājī. Fortunately for the students not knowing Marathi, it has been translated into English twice. Dr. S. N. Sen's translation published as 'Siva Chhatrapati' in 1920 by the University of Calcutta combines a critical examination of the text with a desire to be helpful. (118) The *Jedhe Shākāvalī* resembles the Rajput Vanshāvalīs in containing a bare chronology of events from 1618 to 1697 preserved in the Jedhe family of Bhoge. This seems to have been written probably in the seventeenth century not much after the events it describes took place. (119) The *Shivapur Deshpānde Shākāvalī* (120) and the *Shivapur Deshpānde Yadi* give us another account of the Marathas as preserved in the family of the Deshpandes of Shivapur. (121) The *91 Qalmī Bhakkar* purports to be the work of a contemporary and has been translated by Frissell and included by Forrest in his *Selection from the Letters in the Bombay Secretariat* (Marahata Series, Vol. I), as the *Raigarh Life of Shivaji.* (122) The *Tārīkh-i-Shivājī* (Persian MS. Sarkar) is a very useful work which may have been based on a contemporary original in Marathi.

The mass of printed material on Shivājī has been

accumulating for several decades. I have not tried to indicate above either its extent or variety but have confined myself to indicating broad sources of history usually where the waters of Maratha history co-mingle with those of Mughal history.

VII

BIOGRAPHIES AND MEMOIRS

The biographies and memoirs of the period form another valuable source of information. (123) The *Wāqi āt-i-Asad Beg* occupies a very important position here. The author had spent seventeen years in Abu'l Fazl's service when his master was murdered by Bīr Singh Bundelā. He reported Abu'l Fazl's death to Akbar and was thereupon appointed a Mansabdar of 125. He was commissioned to inquire into and report on the failure of the expedition sent to Bijapur and Golkonda. He describes his experiences in Bijapur and Golkonda as a Mughal representative. Jahāngīr retained him in his service and his Memoirs extend to 1041 A.H. (1631-1632), the year of his death. There is a MS. in the Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

(124) The *Safar Nāma* of 'Abdul Latīf who followed his master, Mīr Abu'l Hasan, from Gujarat to Bengal, on the latters' appointment as the Dīwān of Bengal in 1608, gives an interesting account of the territories through which he passed. The only MS. known is in the Hardinge Library, Delhi. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar procured a transcript of this MS. The following table of its contents would indicate the nature of the work.

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4. Merta 10
5. Ajmer 10
6. In praise of Akbar 11
7. Sambhar 12
8. Narnol 12
9. Hissar 14
10. Sirhind .. ..
11. Jahāngīr's chain of justice 19
12. Remissions granted by Jahāngīr .. 20
13. Zabtī 21
14. Remission of the New Year Day's presents 21
15. The road from Agra to Lahore, Jahāngīr's improvements 21
16. Khusru's rebellion and his capture .. 22
17. Some rebels executed 25
18. Khusru's fate, going out forbidden .. 27
19. Trouble in Kabul, Khusru blinded .. 27
20. Jahāngīr's Royal Court 27
21. Sirhind 29
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23. Panipat 30
24. Delhi and its environments 30
25. Bindraban and its temples 33
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29. Formal appointment of Abu'l Hasan to Bengal as its Bakhshī and Dīwān .. 38
30. Chandwara 40
31. Etavah 40
32. Kalpi 41
33. Kalinjar and its market for brides .. 43
34. Allahabad 43
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36. Jessore 51
37. Ghazipur 52
38. Chaunsa 53
39. Sher Shāh's tomb 53
40. Rohtas 54
41. Hajipur, Patna 54
42. Mungir 58
43. Arrival at Raj Mahal on June 5, 1608. 60
44. Revenues of Bengal 64
45. Buildings at Raj Mahal and its environments 65
46. Islām Khān, the new Governor of Bengal 68
47. Shaikh Salīm Chistī and Akbar .. 68
48. Islām Khān's appointment 70
49. 'Usmān's vakil at the court of Islām Khān 70
50. Raja Satarjīt of Bhusna 71
51. Raja Pratāpāditya's representations .. 71
52. Raja Mukat Nārāyan's presents .. 72
53. Alaipur 73

54. Various types of war boats 73
55. Bengali Chiefs meet Aslām Khān .. 75
56. The bird Mina, (starling) described .. 77
57. Hunts near Ghora Ghat 78
58. Fruits and Flowers of Ghora Ghat .. 79
The end 80

(125) The *Chahār Chaman-i-Bhāhman* (MS. Sarkar) by Chandar Bhān is divided into four parts. The first gives the writer's recollections of certain public events of Shah Jahan's reign and also includes an account of the expeditions to Daulatabad, Assam, Balkh, Badakhashan and Chitor. There is an account of the various Vizīrs of the Mughal emperors. The second includes a description of contemporary India. The third records many personal anecdotes of the writer's life and some moral dissertations. The last part includes some wise saws, his autobiography, and some letters of his. The last date mentioned is December 20, 1658.

(126) The *Waqāi'-i-Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī,* is an account of the siege of Hyderabad in 1686 by an eye-witness.

(127) The *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī* by Muhammad 'Abdul Bāqī was written in 1616, and is a biography of 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān with a background of a short history of the Muslim rule in India. It includes suggestive accounts of various men of letters with whom 'Abdur Rahīm used to surround himself.

(128) The *Roznāmcha of Mirzā Muhammad.* Though it begins from 1707, it contains a very brief account of Aurangzeb's reign. It is very useful in giving us an insight into the character of some of the nobles who survived Aurangzeb. There is a MS in the possession of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

There are two biographical dictionaries of the mansabdārs of the period.

(129) The *Maāsir-ul-Umrā* is a well known biographical dictionary of the Mughal public servants written in 1742-1747 by Shāh Nawāz Khān Aurangābādī. It is based on contemporary accounts and is a very useful work of reference. The original was added to and rearranged by Shāh Nawāz Khān's son, 'Abdul Khān who has contributed the greater part of the work as we find it to day.

(130) The *Tazkirat-ul-Umrā* (MS. R. A. S. B.) of Kewal Rām, son of Raghu Nāth is a brief account written in 1194 A.H. Besides a general index of mansabdārs, it contains an account of some notable events of Jahāngīr's reign and a list of governors of various provinces from Akbar's time to the time of the writing of the work. It has an account of the revenues of the empire as well.

Besides these works in Persian, we have (131) a *Biography of Karam Chand* in Sanskrit written by a contemporary poet Jayasoma. Its hero was a minister (Secretary) at the Court of Akbar and was instrumental in introducing Jain monks to Akbar's court. Besides referring to various public events

of Akbar's reign, it outlines in brief the history of Bikaner up till the date of its composition. The hero was for some time prime minister at Bikaner. His family had held similar office in the State for some generations. M. M. Pandit Gauri Shanker Ojha is publishing the Sanskrit Text with a Hindi Translation.

In (132) the *Rāja Prashasti,* Ranchhor Bhatta, a contemporary poet of Mahārānā Rāj Singh, tells us the story of the Rānās of Udaipur. This work forms a very interesting source of historical information and has come down to us in a unique form. In 1663 Mahārānā Rāj Singh of Udaipur decided to dam the waters of the streams that flowed near what is now Raj Nagar in Udaipur and create a huge artificial lake there. The work was duly executed ; it was solemnly begun and dedicated with splendid religious ceremonies. The Mahārānā desired to perpetuate his memory and asked Ranchhor Bhatta who had already written the *Amra Kāvya* to compose in verse an account not only of the ceremonies connected with the construction of the lake which now came to be named Rāj Samund (the royal lake) ; but to tell the story of his own exploits as well. The work was duly completed. It had been decided to inscribe it on marble and fix the slabs in the outer wall of the lake near Raj Nagar. But Mahārāna Rāj Singh died before this long inscription could be placed in position. His son, Jai Singh, however, completed the task.

This work is divided into 24 chapters with an additional introductory chapter. It runs to 1082 verses. It has not yet been published. Thanks to a grant made by the Punjab University for the purpose, I am editing it in the Punjab University Oriental Publications and soon hope to place it before the public. It gives a credible account of the relations of Mahārānā Rāj Singh with the Mughal Emperors besides throwing a good deal of light on the social and religious customs of the period.

Though not strictly a history yet of much historical interest is (133) the *Hīra Saubāghyam* by Devavimala which describes the visit of Jain monks to the court of Akbar. This, again, was written in Akbar's reign and besides describing the journey of the Jain monks to Delhi, it gives us a curious insight into the Jain customs and usages of those days. It has not yet received the attention it deserves from the students of Indian history. It is true here facts lie buried in a mountain of poetic imagination ; witness the opening lines of a description of Delhi. 'The pinnacle of the entire country and the sporting ground of the goddess of wealth, the country of Delhi adorns the world. It seems as if the Creator has turned it into a mine of happiness by making it the essence of the lands of the gods and the land of the Nāgas'.

The *Chaitanyacharītāmrita,* a biography of Chaitanya, the founder of the Vaishnava cult in Bengal, is an anonymous work of which there is a

MS. in the India office Library, London. Like the (134) work with the same title in Bengali written by Kaviräj Krishnadäs in 1581, it is divided into 3 parts describing the early life, the ministry and the last days of Chaitanya. It was composed in 1615. A.D. Our interest in the Bengali work rests not only on its supplying us with the facts of Chaitanya's life, round whose name miracles had been collecting for some time past, but its letting us into the Vaishnava life of those days as well. More than that, it describes the people of those days in their simple pleasures at home and in the village common. A careful study of this work would convince students of social history of its value.

Jagan Näth's Sanskrit verses in praise of Äsaf Khän, Shäh Jahän and Chhatar Säl are so indiscriminately used for all the three that it is impossible to glean much of historical value from them. We have in Hindi (135) the *Räj Vilās* by Män Kavi, a contemporary of its hero Mahäränä Räj Singh of Udaipur. It was published by the Nägari Prachärinī Sabäh of Benares. It is the work of a contemporary. (136) The *Jai Singh Charitra* by Män Kavi tells us not only of Jai Singh's exploits but those of his ancestors as well. The only MS. known to exist is in the possession of the Udaipur State. (137) *An Account of Sivaji* in Hindi by Bhushan and (138) *Jahängīr Chandrikā*—an Account of Jahangir by Kesho in Hindi are more poetic than true or just. (139) The *Chhatrasāl*

Charita by Lāl is a contemporary account in verse of the Bundelā Chief, Chhatar Sāl. (140) The *Battle of Ujjain* between Aurangzeb and Murād on one side and the imperial Mughal forces led by Maharaja Jaswant Singh on the other, has been described in Hindi verse by Chūrājī, a contemporary poet.

(141) *Chhand Rāo Jayatsī* (Hindi) is a contemporary account—and the only account we possess —of Kāmrān's capture of Bhatner and attack on Bikaner in 1534. It has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

(142) The Chinese Biography of Buddha Gupta, an Indian monk, supplies a good deal of information about India in the 16th century, and was written by the famous Buddhist writer Tārānāth who was a pupil of Buddha Gupta. Professor Tucci drew upon it in his *Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the 16th Century* published in the *Indian Historial Quarterly* in December 1931.

(143) *Sair-ul-'Ārafīn* (MS, Punjab University) by Shaikh Jamāl is a collection of the biographies of saints and scholars written during the reign of Humāyūn. (144) *Akhabār-ul-Akhayār* (MS, Punjab University) by Shaikh 'Abdul Haq of Delhi was completed in 1590 and is a collection of the biographies of saints, scholars, and holy men of India. (145) *Sair-ul-Iqtāb* by Allah Diyā was completed between 1623 and 1629. It gives the life histories of the various staints of the Chistya

order till 1623. (146) *Rubā'īyāt-i-Mullā Shāh* was written by this famous disciple of Miān Mīr, Mullā Shāh Badakshī. Though a collection of quatrains mostly on sufistic subjects, it refers to various incidents in the lives of Mullah Shāh and Miān Mīr. There is a Ms. in the Punjab University Library. (147) *Masnavīyāt-i- Mullā Shāh* (MS Punjab University) is another collection of the poetical work of Mullā Shāh wherein he supplies more details about his own life and that of his teacher, Miān Mīr.

(148) *Mīrāt-ul-Khayāl* by Shaikh Ibn 'Alī Ahmad Khān Sirhindī forms an account of the life and works of Persian poets and poetesses of India composed about 1690-91. Some of the poets mentioned in this collection were men of affairs as well. Others attracted attention otherwise. The book thus throws light not only on the history of Persian poetry but sometimes gives information about political matters as well.

(149) *Safīnat-ul-Auliyā* (MS., Punjab University) by prince Dārā Shikoh is another collective biography of saints including those of the Mughal period. Dārā recounts his own experiences when on pilgrimage to the tombs of these saints as well.

(150) *Sakīnat-ul-Auliyā* by Dārā is the standard biography of Miān Mīr.

(151) *Munāqib-i-Ghausiyā* (MS, Punjab University) is a biography of Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliārī (1482-1562) written by his disciple Shāh

Fazl Shattāri (152) *Halāt-i-Hazrat Balāwal* is a biography of this saint of Mughal India written by one of his disciples.

(153) *Jenam Sākhi* (*Gurumukhi*) of Guru Nānak by Bhāi Sewā Das is most easily accessible in Trump's English translation of the *Ādi Granth* and is probably our earliest authority for the life of the founder of Sikhism.

(154) *Bachitra Nātak* (Gurumukhi) by Guru Gobind Singh, the last Guru of the Sikhs, forms a collective biography of his predecessors and his own autobiography. (155) *Wārs* and (156) *Kabits* of Bhāī Gurdis (Gurumukhi) again form a useful mine of information about the early history of Sikhism. These must have been composed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

VIII

GAZETTEERS

(157) The *Haft Aqalīm* (MS, Lahore) of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī written in 1593-94 is a gazetteer of the world including India. Besides geographical descriptions, it includes biographical notes on rulers, princes, saints and scholars of various localities mentioned. There is a very brief historical account of India as well.

The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* of Abu'l Fazl is an official Gazetteer of India besides being a useful administrative manual.

(158) The *Hadīqat-ul-Aqālīm* (MS, the writer) of Murtza Husain Bilgrāmī written in 1782 is another useful compilation.

(159) The *Chahār Gulshan* (MS., Sarkar) by Chatarman is a description of India containing notes on Hindu and Muslim saints of various localities written in 1759.

(160) The *Tuhfat-ul-Karāim* (MS, Patna) by Mīr 'Alī Sher was compiled between 1760 and 1769 and contains notices of various cities. Besides the history of various provincial dynasties, scholars of various localities, past and present, are also mentioned.

(161) Mehta Nensī wrote an *Account of Jodhpur* (Hindi MS, Jodhpur) in the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, modelled after the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*.

IX

PRIVATE LETTER BOOKS

We have got several collections of the letter-books of the period. It became fashionable in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century for various great writers and successful private secretaries to bring together their letters as models for others to follow. We have noticed so far 54 such collections in various libraries of India.

(162) The *Inshā-i-Yūsafī* (MS., Kapurthala), covering 119 pages, was compiled by Muhammad Yūsaf for the use of his son Rafī'-ud-Dīn in 1533. Its importance lies in its collections of warrants of appointment and patents of office obviously in use in Humāyūn's reign.

(163) The *Inshā-i-Nāmī* (MS. Punjab University) compiled by Khwānd Amīr, the famous historian. This, again, like No. 162 contains official forms and requires to be studied in detail for a history of political institutions.

(164) The *Ruqq'āt Hakīm Abu'l Fath Gīlānī* (MS, Aligarh) covering 100 pages, consists of the private letters of this famous physician of Akbar's court. Some of them refer to important public events.

(165) The *Ruqa'āt-i-Abu'l Fazl* (MS., Patna)

contains Abu'l Fazl's letters to his friends and contemporaries compiled by Nūr Muhammad. Among others it contains letters to Hakīm Humām, Hakīm Abu'l Fath, and Shaikh Muhammad ' Alī. It shows a side of Abu'l Fazl's character which is obviously hidden from us as we try to study him from his other writings. This work is different from the printed collection of Abu'l Fazl's letters. (166) The *Inshā-i-Faizī* (MS. Patna) contains Faizi's letters to his royal master and friends. (167) The *Inshā-i-'Abdul Latīf* (MS. R.A.S.B.) compiled by 'Abdul Latīf contains letters of Lashkar Khān, Qāsim Khān, Hāshim Khān, ' Abdullah Khān, Muhammed Shafī', Bakhshī of Agra, Dīwān of Kabul, Shāfī' Khān, Dīwān of Gujarat, Mirzā Husain Beg, Bakhshī of Gujarat, Khān-i-Khanān 'Abdur Rahīm and various other dignitaries at the Mughal court. (168) The *Munshiyāt Tabrezī* (MS., Sarkar) by ' Abdul Ali Tabrezī contains Shāh Jahān's correspondence with the king of Golkonda.

(169) The *Ruqqa'āt-i-Shāh 'Abbās Sānī* (also known as *Inshā-ī-Tāhīr Wahīd*) contains letters of the Persian king to Dārā, Murād, Aurangzeb, Shāh Jahān, the ruler of Bijapur, Governors of Multan and Qandahar and Mīr Jumla, besides instructions to his ambassadors in India. (170) The *Inshāi-i-Brahman* by Munshi Chandar Bhān of Lahore, represents a very popular collection of letters useful for the reign of Shāh Jahān.

(171) The *Chahār Chaman* by Chandar Bhān Brahman (MS, Sarkar) is divided into 4 parts. Parts 3 and 4 contain among other things letters written by the writer to Shāh Jahān, some of the high officials at Court and his own relatives. Part I records his own recollections of certain events of public importance in the reign of Shāh Jahān and gives an account of the Vizīrs of the Mughal emperors from Bairam Khān to Raghunāth. The conquests of Daulatabad, Hugli, Assam, Balkh, Badakhshan, and Chitor under Shāh Jahān are here described. Part 2 gives a description of India. In parts 3 and 4, besides the letters already mentioned, Chandar Bhān gives his own autobiography and records some wise proverbs and includes moral dissertations on certain subjects. The last date mentioned is December 20, 1658.

(172) The *Ruqqa'āt-i-Bedil.* This collection of the letters of a famous man of letters contains his personal adventures, illustrates difficulties of travel, sheds light on the literary history of the times and illuminates some aspects of the social history of Shāh Jahān's reign.

(173) The *Inshāi-i-Ibrāhīmī* (MS, Kapurthala) compiled by Mirzā Ibrahīm Turkmān in 1654, contains letters written to the Emperor, his Prime Minister, the Bakhshī and many other high officials concerning Shuja"s assumption of the Government of Kabul and the affairs thereof. It records the proselytizing activity of Shāh Jahān's

commanders who converted 5,000 persons to Islam during the expedition to the country of Shankar Dev.

(174) The *Inshā-i-Roshan Kalām Bhūpat* (MS. Sarkar) by Bhūpat Rāi, Munshī to Nawāb Ra'd Andāz Khān, Fojdār of Banswara under Aurangzeb, contains his master's correspondence which deals with the cares and anxieties of a Mughal Fojdār's life.

(175) The *Khatūt-i-Shivājī* (MS., Sarkar) contains letters of Aurangzeb to Akbar, Shiva III, Trumbak, commander of Naranula, and Rām Chand, Akbar's letters to Sambhājī and some of his courtiers. It details his movements in Rajputana and relates the story of his stay in the Deccan. There are some letters of Shivājī including the famous letter to Aurangzeb protesting against the levy of the Jizya, alleged to have been written by Nīl Prabhu to Shivājī's instructions. The Maratha raids in the Mughal territories, are recalled by Shivājī's proclamation, letters of his officers and of some Mughal officers of the districts concerned. Letters exchanged between Akbar and Aurangzeb also find a place here and there is a letter from Daler Khan to Shivājī.

(176) The *Letters to some Mughal Emperors* is a unique MS in the India Office, London. It is mainly important as containing letters concerning the Rājpūt War and Akbar's rebellion. Sir Jadu

Nath Sarkar has a transcript of this MS. in his Library.

(177) The *Nigār Nāma-i-Munshī Malik Zāda* compiled in 1095 A.H. jointly with his son, Meghrāj, contains private letters, official correspondence, and warrants of appointment, and patents of office. It is very useful for a study of the revenue practices of Aurangzeb's reign. It includes the 'manual of Land Revenue Administration', which forms the main part of the *Farmān* to Rasikh Dās translated by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration*. Besides this piece, there are several other patents of office which throw a good deal of light on the detailed working of the Mughal Land Revenue administration.

(178) The *Riyaz-ul-Wadād*, (MS. Bankipur) begun or completed by Aizad Bakhsh Rasā on July 12, 1681, contains letters to Aurangzeb, and some minor Mughal officials besides the story of the conquest of the fort of Bijapur.

(179) The *Kārnāma-i-Jethmal* (MS. Sarkar) contains letters written by Jethmal on behalf of his master Mu'tabar Khān. The last date mentioned is November 30, 1705. It covers Mu'tabar Khān's service in the Deccan and contains references to the European traders in India particularly the Portuguese and the English, the mutiny of the Mughal soldiers for arrears of pay in the Deccan, capture of Sambhājī and Dhannājī's raids.

(180) The *Raqqa'āt-i-Nawāzish Khān* (MS.

Lahore) in its 90 pp. contains letters of Mukhtār Beg Nawāzish Khān, Governor of Kashmir and Gujarat. His letters deal with diverse subjects which interested Mughal mansabdārs of rank. The complaint of soldiers clamouring for their arrears, difficulties in collection of the arrears of land revenue and the instalments of Taqāvī, the attack of 'Abbās Pathān on Ujjain at the head of 5,000 men and difficulties experienced by Mughal mansabdārs in managing their distant jagirs are all reflected here.

181 The *Ruqqa'āt-i-Khwāja Hasan,* (MS. Sarkar) the poet laureate, was compiled in the reign of Aurangzeb in 1686 and throws a flood of light on literary friendships, social life, the position of the literatures at the Mughal court and other connected problems.

(182) The *Inshā-i-Fārsī* (MS, R.A.S.B.) contains, among other things, the reply of the Mughal officers at Surat to Shivājī's demands on the city.

(183) The *Carnatic Records* (Persian MS.) preserved in the Record Office, Madras, besides other interesting facts, record the remission of the salt tax in 1668.

(184) The *Mujmu'a-i-Munshiyāt* (MS. the State Library, Rampur) contains a collection of letters written by several Munshis on their own behalf or on behalf of their masters. Mukhlis Khān, Rāi Kunjmal, Munshī Bālkrishna Mehta, Udairāj, 'Atā Ullah, Rāi Sobhā Chand are some of the

writers. Among the correspondents addressed are several princes, Governor of Ahmedabad, Dīwān of Agra, Dīwān of Ajmer, Deputy Governor of Kabul and Governor of Berar. There is a letter of Aurangzeb reprimanding Bedār Bakht for receiving a bribe from an applicant for the office of Deputy Governor of Berar and another to the Deputy Governor of Kabul.

(185) The *Surat Factory letters* (MS, India Office, and Sarkar) for the years 1695 and 1696 are mostly concerned with the affairs of the European traders in Surat.

(186) The *Inshā-i-Zarbakhsh*, (MS, Sarkar) compiled by Sayyid Muhammad Zayā Chughtāi, a Mughal officer, who served in Bengal and Behar under Nawāb Sarvar Khān, son of Nawāb Amīr Khān. It is divided into two parts, the first contains the non-official correspondence and the second contains imperial orders, letters from princes, warrants of appointments, and security bonds for service. An official letter of the Imperial Bayūtāt to his provincial subordinate in Assam throws interesting light on the disposal of the prizes of War. Some of the letters use the *Ilāhī* Calendar introduced by Akbar. There are many models written as standards for different occasions. A model supplies the form in which returns for daily receipts are to be submitted. Two letters speak of the conquest of Junagarh in the 33rd year of Aurangzeb's reign and

of Rājwāra which had not hitherto been conquered by the Muslim armies.

(187) The *Nuskha-i-'Aish Afazā* (MS., Sarkar) compiled by Saif Khān is dedicated to Aurangzeb and tells us of his religious views and opinions.

(188) The *Inshā-i-Jān Muhammad* (MS., Sarkar). The author was a munshi of Raja Daulatmand Khān, a noble under 'Ālamgīr. It throws a good deal of light on social history, religious policy and administrative practices of the period.

(189) The *Majmū'a-az-Biāz,* (MS., R.A.S.B.) contains many letters about Aurangzeb's coronation, the Khutba that was adopted, and the legend on the coins that was ultimately settled upon.

(190) The *Farāmīn-i-Muhammad Shāhī-o-Ba'z-az-Shāhān-i-Salf,* (MS., Sarkar) contains some letters of Aurangzeb mostly granting stipends to theologians, needy scholars, imāms of mosques, and mu'azzans, besides endowments for lighting tapers on certain tombs. Certain grants are very interesting. The caller to prayers of Imtyāz Garh is granted 14 Tankas 'Ālamgīrī and half a seer of oil daily in the 45th year of Aurangzeb's reign. Another grant is made for keeping a mosque lighted, for providing drinking water to the thirsty, and mats to sit upon for the travellers. A rather interesting find is a grant of annas four daily to a Hindu astronomer, Malhār Bhatt from the revenues of Bar Nagar.

(191) The *Jami'-ul-Qawānīn,* compiled by

Khalīfa Shāh Muhammad of Kanoj in 1674 has been printed.

(192) A collection of letters (MS., Sarkar) covering 265 pp. in the India Office Library, (Ethe, 2118) contains Abu'l Fazl's letters to Akbar, Salīm, and Dāniyāl and a group of letters of Aurangzeb's reign. One of the letters mentions that a Hindu temple of Multan, the writer was told, attracted pilgrims of all religions.

(193) The *Mi'yār-ul-Adrāk* (MS., R. A. S. B.) by Tughrā, a poet of Jahāngīr's time, contains a letter of Qāzī Nūr Ullah to Abu'l Fazl.

(194) A collection of letters mostly of Aurangzeb's reign at Bankipur contains a letter in verse of Shāh Jahān to Jahāngīr and Jahāngīr's reply thereto when Shāh Jahān had rebelled against his father.

(195) The *Inshā-i-'Ināyat Ullah* compiled in 1609 is a very useful MS., in the Kapurthala State Library.

(196) The *Ruqqa'āt-Hasan* (MS., Rampur) by Abu'l Hasan, Secretary to the Governors of Orissa (1655 to 1670) was compiled in 1669-70. It contains a detailed history of Orissa not to be found elsewhere. The duties of provincial officers, Mughal revenue practices, destruction of temples by Aurangzeb's orders and relations between Mughal officers serving in different departments are all reflected here. There are letters written by the author on his own behalf, letters written by the orders

of Shaikh Abu'l Khair, Tarbi'at Khān, Governor of Orissa under Shāh Jāhān, and Shāista Khān, his successor under Aurangzeb. Among the correspondents are Shaikh 'Abdur Rashīd, Fojdār Chakla Maidni Pur, Mirzā Muhammad Beg, Dīwān Mīr Jumla, Sayyīd Āghā, Havaldār Sakākul, Pīr Khān, Fojdar Talmal, Rājā Mukund Dev, Miān Muhammad Jān, Wazir-o-Dīwān-i-Orissa, Aurangzeb, Ābad Khān, Sadr-ul-Sadūr, Mīr Isma'il Dīwān, Mīrzā, Abu'l Hasan, Dīwān Tan of Orissa and Bengal, Muhammad Moman, Fojdār of Malwa, Rājā Raghu Nāth Dīwān, Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golkonda, Āzād Khān Bakhshī, Lashkar Khān, Governor of Behar, Saif Khān, Governor of Kashmir, and Ahmad Khān, Deputy Qāzī. Thus the letters found in its 236 pages deal with all sorts of topics. We find in its pages the Governor of Orissa taking a loan of Rs. 10,000 from the State against the mortgage of his house at Delhi, the payment of a relief of Rs. 1,00,000 by the Zamindar of Orissa at succession, the Mughals demanding one half of the produce in land revenue in Orissa and consequent desertion of villages, and castration of children in the Deccan. The Mughal Governor of Orissa, at any rate, exercised control over his Bakhshī to the extent of demanding his presence at a particular place with all relevant papers. In view of the fact that the cultivators in Mughal India are supposed to have enjoyed the right of challenging the State demand of land revenue, it is interesting to find here the

Zamindars of Orissa so challenging the demand of land revenue and insisting on a survey of the land and the preparation of an estimate of the produce. The case seems to have gone against them; they were fined Rs. 5,000. Besides, there are various letters of authority issued by the emperor or by the provincial officers.

(197) The *Inshā-i-Hamīd-ud-Dīn* (MS., Sarkar) in its 313 pp., covers the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. The last date mentioned is 1677. Its author was Fojdār at Jullundur. He was present at the siege of Golkonda in 1655-56, and served as the Deputy Governor of Malwa. This collection includes letters to the emperor, his own friends and relatives, and some brother Mughal officials. There are letters referring to disturbances in Malwa, the Doab and Bihar. It depicts the plight of the inhabitants of the Jullundur Doab under Aurangzeb. A Hindu from Hoshiarpur (in the Punjab) was converted to Islam. After living as a Muslim for some time, he was converted to Hinduism. On this being reported to the Mughal authorities, he was arrested and subsequently imprisoned. The Hindus of Hoshiarpur closed their shops as a mark of protest and a good deal of diplomacy had to be used before business was resumed. Shafi', a heretic, who refused to acknowledge the Prophet, was stoned to death by the Muslims; someone complained to the emperor against this lynching process and we find vigorous inquiries made in order

to ascertain what had happened. No one seems to have been punished for thus taking the law into his own hands. There are Warrants of Appointments for various offices as well.

(198) A *British Museum MS.* (Sloan MSS., 3582), partly copied for Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, contains many letters about Aurangzeb's operations in the Deccan. An interesting item is the record of a judical trial before a Mughal officer. A *Farmān* of *Shāh Jahān* dated March 25, 1650 remits all duties on elephants brought for the court.

(199) The *Pārasnīs* MS. (copy with Sarkar) contains among various other items, letters of Murād to Shivājī and Shāhjī written in 1649 ; letters of Aurangzeb to Shivājī and Shāhjī written in 1657, during the War of Succession and in 1655, 1666 and 1668. Aurangzeb's diplomacy during the War of Succession can be studied from some of these letters. A letter dated September 5, 1665, congratulates Shivājī for the part he played in the operations against Bijapur and sends him some gifts. By a letter dated April 5, 1666, he is called to the court and the letter of March 9, 1668 confers the title of Rājā on him. Besides these, there are some *Farmāns* of Aurangzeb as well in this collection.

(200) *Haft Anjaman* (MS., Sarkar) consists of the letters written by Tāli' Yār, a Hindu convert who served as a secretary to Rustam Khān and Rāja Jai Singh. He died on June 16, 1675. The

present collection was made by his son Hamāyat Yār in 1698-1699. Three fragments have been discovered in Benares, Delhi and Paris. It consists of an introduction and seven books. The first book contains Rustam Khān's letters to Shāh Jahān while he was serving at Kabul. It mentions local disturbances at Aligarh, reports conquests of the fort Jaroli, complains about a drought and consequent shortage of corn, recommends an officer for appointment as his deputy, reports sending of 5 falcons, notes repeated thefts in the countryside and measures taken to combat them, and submits explanation for audit objections blaming his Dīwān. The letters from Kabul form a very interesting collection. The first speaks of his assumption of office as Governor. We have then letters detailing his early measures there, the arrangements in the independent tribal country, transfers and re-transfers of officers, building of a brick pavement in the streets of Kabul and sending spies to Balkh and Bokhara including a Hindu, son of one Rāj Rūp. The arrangements made for keeping the country safe read, to our surprise, like the communique issued by the Government of India from time to time about its North-Western Frontier policy. These letters supply about the Mughal Government in Kabul some information which is scarcely to be found elsewhere. Book II contains letters of Rāja Jai Singh from Thatta and gives detailed information about Jai Singh's movements there. His pur-

suit of Dārā Shikoh, the diplomacy of Aurangzeb towards the Rajput rulers, the attitude of local officers are all found reflected here. Book III contains Rājā Jai Singh's letters from the Deccan and is valuable for Aurangzeb's relations with Shivājī as also with the kingdoms in the Deccan. Book IV contains Rustam Khān's letters to the princes and princesses. Dārā's position at the court is clearly reflected here; Rustam Khān not only requests him to intercede with the emperor on his behalf, but directly asks for orders in connection with many important matters. Book V is divided into five sections. The first gives Rustam Khān's correspondence with the Mughal officials, dealing with various problems of administrative interest. There are letters to Asad Ullah Khān, Taqrīb Khān, Qāsim Khān, Sadr-us-Sadūr, the Bakhshī and Mu'azam Khān, the Prime Minister. The second section contains Jai Singh's letters to the imperial officials and supplements his letters to the emperor given in Book III. Ja'far Khān, Shāista Khān, Bakshī Muhammad Amin-ul-Mulk, Fidāi Khān, Amīr Khān, and 'Āqil Khān are some of the officials addressed. The third section consists of his letters to Mughal officials serving in the Deccan. Daler Khān, Saf Shikan Khān, Mukhtār Khān, Īraj Khān, Mirzā Rustam, Dāūd Khān, Bhojrāj, Hajī Shafī' Khān are among his colleagues and subordinates in the Deccan who are thus addressed. Thus Book III with these parts of Book V forms our

primary source of information about Aurangzeb's Maratha campaigns. The fourth section includes letters to the rulers of the Deccan, 'Ādil Khān and Abu'l Hasan, a treaty between Jai Singh and 'Ādil Khān, letters to Deccanese officials, Nek Nām Khān, Mullā Ahmad, Vyānkojī Bhonslā, Bahlol Khān, Abu'l Khair and Jādu Rāi. In the last section are included letters of Jai Singh to Mughal ambassadors accredited to the courts of Bijapur and Golkonda. These again are very useful in our interpretation of this period of Indian History. Book VI deals with the personal correspondence of the author and contains some notes on Rustam Khān. There are letters to certain minor Mughal officials as well. Its last part consists of eleven letters of Jai Singh to his son, Kanwar Rām Singh, letters to his agent at the imperial court and letters to one Dala, Mīr Shikār, Jamāl Khān and Malik Rangī Dāss. Book VII is divided into three sections, which are again sub-divided. Letters of Udairāj written in the reign of Aurangzeb and Shāh Jahān are collected here. His private letters written to fellow officials serving under Rājā Jai Singh, letters to Daler Khān, Kanwar Rām Singh, Saf Shikan Khān, Nawāb 'Āqil Khan, Tāhir Khān, Mughal Khān, Nawāb Khān Jahān Bahādur, Munshī Chandar Bhān, Mehta Trimbak Dās, Malik Rangī Dās and others are here brought together. There is a letter from Todar Mal Bayūtāt-i-Deccan to Shāh Jahān and two

letters of Shivājī to Aurangzeb. Next to the *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī, Haft Anjaman* forms the most valuable collection of the letters of the Mughal period.

(201) The *Biāz-i-Fārsi* (A. S. B., 390), (202), the *Khatūt-i-Mutfaraq Inshā* (A. S. B., 391), (203) the *Majmū'a,* (A. S. B., 225), three collections of miscellaneous letters, contain many letters of the Mughal period. (204) The *Mansūrāt,* (2351 Bankipur), (205) the *Gulshan-i-Balāghat* by 'Abu'l Wahāb, (A. S. B. 1310) and (206) the *Maktūbāt-i-Muhammad Ma'sūm* by Ma'sum author of *Tārīkh-i-Hind-o-Sind,* contain many interesting letters.

(207) The *Biāz,* (Bankipur), contains many letters of the Mughal period.

(208) The *Ruqq'āt-i-Tughrā* by Mullā Tughrā Mashhadī covers the reign of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb.

(209) The *Muktūbāt-i-Ahmadī,* is a collection of letters written by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī to his disciples in various parts of India. There are three volumes of these letters compiled by his various disciples between 1616 and 1621. The first volume contains in an appendix a biography of the saint by one of his disciples. Shaikh Ahmad was imprisoned for some time by Jahāngīr for his unorthodox views. But when he was released soon after, Jahāngīr became so fond of him that he would not leave him alone. Khurram was also one of his disciples.

(210) The *Inshā-i-Mullā Shikoh* (MS., Aligarh) is a collection of letters compiled in 1074 A.H. (1663-64). The author furnished the memorial verse on Aurangzeb's coins.

(211) The *Inshā-i-Nawāb Saif Khān,* (MS., Aligarh) is a collection of letters written by the author to various high officials. The MS. contains only 300 pages and is incomplete.

(212) The *Ruqqa'āt Amān Ullah Husainī* (MS., Aligarh). This collection of letters was brought together in 1083 A.H. (1672.)

(213) The *Inshā-i-Jalāl-ud-Dīn Tabātabāī,* (MS., Rampur), is a collection of the letters of this famous historian of Shāh Jahān, brought together in Shāh Jahān's tenth year. This is a rare MS. in the State Library, Rampur.

(214) The *Ruqqa'āt-i-Qalmī or Nāma-i-Nāmī* (MS., Aligarh) is a collection of forty-four letters written to Akbar, Humāyūn, Dārā, Abu'l Fazl and others.

(215) The *Majmū'a Mufāvazzāt,* (MS., Punjab University) is a collection of the letters of Humāyūn, Akbar, Aurangzeb, Abu'l Fazl, Khān-i-Khānān 'Abdur Rahīm and Saīf Khān.

X

ADMINISTRATIVE MANUALS

The Administrative Manuals of the period stand in a class by themselves. They not only tell us of the method of administration but supply us with reliable figures of the land revenue and throw a good deal of light on many political problems as well. As they have not been described in detail so far, the following description of some of them to be found in India will be read with interest.

(216) India Office MS., copy in possession of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

1. Distribution of work among the Imperial Bakhshīs .. f. 82-a
2. Khān-i-Sāmān .. f. 83-a
3. Bayūtāt .. f. 84-a
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6. Treasurer.
7. Superintendent of *Sāir*.
8. Mushraf.
9. Bakhshī.
10. Wāqi'a-Navīs.
11. Kotwāl.
12. Dīwān-i-Lashkar.
13. Mushraf of Mints.

14. Wāqi'a Navīs of the Kotwāl's court.
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(219) THE *Khallāq-us-Sayyāq*.

MS., Imperial Record Office, Delhi.

1. Various useful rules of arithmetic.
2. Papers submitted to the office of the Provincial Dīwān.
3. Duties of the Amīn.
4. Collection of revenue.
5. Deeds of acceptance.
6. Rules for finding out the area.
7. Rām Dās Karorī of Rampur (the appointment order of).
8. Duties of the Qānūngo.
9. The Amīn.
10. Orders of Shāh Jahān's ministers and revenue officers.
11. Peshkash of the Qānūngo.
12. Fotadār of a Parganah.
13. The Jizya.
14. Taxes collected in the salt market and grain markets.
15. Trampling of crops (remissions allowed and compensation granted).
16. Workshops.
17. Duties of imperial Bakhshīs.
18. Miscellaneous Taxes.
19. Salaries of mansabdārs.

20. Deductions.
21. Branding of horses.
22. Securities for Mansabdārs.
23. Provincial revenues.
24. Revenues of Persia.
25. A Summary History of the Mughals.
26. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān.
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(220) THE *Dustūr-ul-'Amal*

MS., Bankipur 1178 A.H.

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11.	Mīr Sāmān and Dīwān of Bayūtāt ..	f. 18.
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14.	Regulations regarding the Superintendent and accountant of the kitchen and workshops ..	f. 19.
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44.	Regulations regarding animals to be kept by the mansabdārs according to Akbar's regulations ..	f. 56.
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(221) THE *Dastūr-ul-'Amal*, Aligarh. by Munshi Sher Afgan (1144 A.H.)

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23. The Superintendent of the royal court .. f. 28-a
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Justice .. f. 76-b to 89-b

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(222) *Farhang-i-Kārdni* by Jagat Rai.

[1090 A.H., Muslim University, Aligarh]

1. Weights .. f. 11-a
2. Coins .. f. 12-a
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4. Mathematical Calculations about areas, etc. .. f. 14-b
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6. An account of Provinces giving the No. of Sarkārs, Mahalas and the revenue in dams for the provinces of : Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Kabul, Kashmir, Multan, Thatta, Gujarat, Ajmer, Beglana, Allahabad, Oudh, Patna and Orissa .. f. 19-a to 20-b
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(223) *Dast'ur-ul-'Amal-i-Todar Mal,* Rampur.

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(*i*) *Delhi.*—
Boundaries and area, distance from 23 cities, revenue.

(*ii*) *Agra.*—
Boundaries and area, distance from 32 cities, revenue.

(*iii*) *Lahore.*—
Boundaries, Jagirs, revenue.

(*iv*) *Kabul.*—
Area, boundaries, races, distances from 24 cities, and revenue.

(*v*) *Kashmir.*—
Boundaries, area, distance from 23 cities, revenue.

(*vi*) *Multan.*—

Special considerations about land revenue arrangements from 3 Mahals, boundaries, distances from 19 cities, revenue.

(*vii*) *Gujarat.*—

Revenue, distances from 20 cities.

(*viii*) *Thatta.*—

Distance, boundaries, length, breadth, revenue.

(*ix*) *Ajmer.*—

Jagirs of Rānās of Udaipur, Rājās of Jaisalmer. Rājās of Bikaner, Jaipur and Jodhpur, distances from 18 cities, boundaries.

(*x*) *Malwa.*—

Revenue in kind, boundaries, distances from 18 cities.

(*xi*) *Berar.*—

Revenue, boundaries, distances from 8 cities, not divided into Sarkars.

(*xii*) *Aurangabad.*—

Revenue, not divided into Sarkars, distances from 4 cities.

(*xiii*) *Bedar.*—

Distances from Ahmedabad.

(*xiv*) *Bijapur.*—

Feudatories.

(*xv*) *Hyderabad.*—
Total revenues under Abu'l Hasan.

(*xvi*) *Orissa.*—
Revenue, length, breadth, distances from 6 cities.

(*xvii*) *Bengal.*—
Revenue, length and breadth, boundaries, distances of 11 cities from Dacca.

(*xviii*) *Behar.*—
Distances from Patna revenue from each Sarkar.

(*xix*) *Oudh.*—
Revenues, length and breadth, distances.

(*xx*) *Allahabad.*—
Revenues, boundaries, length and breadth, distance of 11 cities.

3. Revenues of all the imperial territories.
4. Methods of assessment.
5. Boundaries, breadth from Ghazni to Orissa and length from Lahri to Sylhet.
6. Revenues of Persia.
7. Expenses of Shāh Jahān—grants and gifts.
8. Buildings at Agra and Delhi—forts and canals—Mosques, the Taj Mahal, buildings at Kabul, Daulat Khāna, Shālāmār gardens.
9. Gifts to 'Alī Mardān Khān—Qandahar, Ahmedabad.

10. The titles of Shāh Jahān's sons.
11. The mansab of Aurangzeb in 1046.
12. The titles of the high officials.
13. Titles of the Imperial Dīwāns.
14. Titles granted in the reign of Shāh 'Ālm.
15. Dates of births and deaths of kings.
16. Dates of the deaths of certain saints.
17. Fourteen sciences.
18. Sixty-four arts.
19. Schedule of salaries of mansabdārs.

(224) *Hadāyat-ul-Qawānīn,* by Hadāyat Ullah Bihārī (Muslim University, Aligarh).

Book First

1. Perfect man 3-b
2. Darweshes 4-b
3. Ways of kings 4-b
4. The Vakīl and the Wazīr .. 6-a
5. The Khān-i-Sāmān 9-b
6. The Bakhshī 11-b
7. The Dārogha of the Private Chamber and Dīwān Khāna .. 12-b
8. Governors 13-b
9. Fojdārs 15-a
10. The Superintendent of Artillery .. 16-b
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2. The Qāzī 20-a

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6. Personal Assistants 25-a
7. Appointments 26-a
8. The Amīn and the Karorī .. 27-a
9. The Kotwāl 29-a
10. The Mīr-i-'Amārat 31-a
11. The Mushraf 32-b

Book Third.

1. Superintendents of office .. 33-a
2. Superintendents of the court of Justice 35-a
3. Superintendents of Dāgh .. 36-a
4. Superintendents of the Mints .. 37-a
5. Superintendents of the Treasury .. 39-a
6. Superintendents of Granaries .. 40-a
7. The Qūs Khāna, elephants, camels and coins 42-a
8. The Farāsh Khāna 44-a
9. The Amīn-i-Sāir 46-b
10. The Tahvīldār 47-b

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1. Courtiers 48-b
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3. Parents 52-a
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6. Behaviour at the houses of the rich. 56-a
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1. On Travel 57-b
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3. Trade 60-a
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5. The clerks and their ways 62
6. The Qānūngo 64-b
7. Agriculture 65-b
8. Sightseers 67-b
9. Miscellaneous 68-a
Chairman of an assembly, arbitrator, unworthy people, things suitable and unsuitable—houses, food—auspicious days for measuring for dress, for travel, for shaving; stars, the gates of the house, scents; omens when setting out on a journey 74-b

This is a complete copy of the work, a fragment of which was obtained by Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkar, and described as the *Manual of the Duties of Officials*. It has turned out to be of a very late date but I have included it as it stands in a class by itself.

(225) *Dastūr-i-Jahān Kushā* by Khair Ullah son of Karm Ullah, though avowedly not a Manual of Administration, is much more so than anything else. The writer was for fifteen years in the service of Shāh Jahān. The work concerns itself with all that relates to war. It is divided into 12 'keys' each treating of a separate aspect of the art of war. It discusses organisation, marching, encamping, tactics, manœuvring, supplies, equipment, relations between the leader and the soldiers and the last, but not the least important, the celebration of victory. The Muslim University, Aligarh, possesses a unique MS. of this work covering 84 pages.

(226) The *Guldasta-i-Saltanat* by Chandar Bhān describes the daily life of Shāh Jahān and the court ceremonies. The following is a detailed table of its contents :—

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2.	Jharoka-i-Khās	.. 7
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12. On the move .. 59
13. The Army .. 62
14. The Royal Hunt .. 67
15. The Feast of lamps .. 70
16. Recent Victories .. 71
17. Foundation of Delhi .. 80
18. End .. 89

XI

LITERARY WORKS.

Avowedly historical literature aside, the literary works of the period in various languages demand a perusal, more or less detailed. This would not only help us in setting up the frame work of literary history of the period, but illuminate many a dark corner in its history as well. The system of education then prevailing can be very well studied in selections from Classical Persian Writers made in the years 1089, 1090, 1091, 1095 A.H. and preserved in manuscript now in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, and the Victoria Memorial Collections, Calcutta. Several Persian dictionaries were compiled, one of them, the *Farhang-i-Rashīdī*, compiled and edited in Shāh Jahān's reign, forms the basis of the famous Persian-English dictionary by Steingass. Two glossaries of equivalents in Persian and Sanskrit, one of astrological data and another of terms in the Vedanta and Sufism were also prepared. Several religious works of the Hindus were translated from Sanskrit under Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Translation of secular works continued to be made throughout the period. Medicine received some attention and the *Dastūr-ul-Ittibā* of Firishta is even to-day used as a manual among

our physicians. Precious stones had their votaries. Several books of fiction and stories were written, some of them translations from Sanskrit and Hindi, others forming selections from earlier well-known work. A book on Ethics (227) the *Akhalāq-i-Jahāngīrī*, (MS., Aligarh) by 'Abdul Wahāb dedicated to Jahāngīr, deserves special study. The Chief Huntsman of Aurangzeb, Muhammad Razā, compiled (228) the *Saiyd Nāma*, a Manual of Hunt, in 1083 A.H. Of poets and their works, there is no end. Several accounts of the poets of the period are very revealing in their accounts of their lives. Two classes of works, however, deserve special study. The religious and legal literature of the period provide varied fare in various languages and must be studied in order to understand this epoch in the history of India. In Persian and Arabic, we have various lives of the saints, tracts of varying standard on matters religious, and accounts of places of religious pilgrimage. The most important work in this class is probably the (229) *Fatāwa-i-'Ālamgīrī* in Arabic, compiled by orders of Aurangzeb and intended to produce an authoritative work on Muslim Polity, Law and Religious usage. Unfortunately, it has not been yet translated into English and its four bulky volumes would deter even an enthusiastic writer from undertaking a translation. Morley's Digest thereof is very serviceable. It has, however, been translated into Urdu and can thus be utilized by those who do not know

Arabic. It does not only bring together the personal law of the Muslims, it gives us an insight into their daily lives as well. Further it throws some light on the principles of Muslim Polity as understood in India at that time by the orthodox.

(230) The *Majmū'a-ul-'Ālamgīrī*, (MS., Aligarh) compiled by 'Abdul Khāliq in Aurangzeb's reign is a very useful guide to the daily duties of the faithful. A still more interesting work is (231) *Tuhfat-ul-Hind* (MS., Aligarh) by Mirzā Khān in 1068 A.H. It is a Manual of Indian studies, compiled for prince Muhammad A'zam. It includes discussions on prosody, similes, music, astrology and technical terms.

The *Faqqa-i-Bābārī*, was compiled by Bābur and is said to be a useful digest of the Muslim law.

(232) *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* by Fānī was completed in Shāh Jahān's reign and gives us an insight into the religious practices of the period as seen by a student of comparative religion.

A still more neglected source lies in the Sanskrit works on law, social customs, religious ceremonies and daily practices. Akbar seems to have given the Hindu Panchayats a formal place in his judicial system. Appeals from these were sometimes liable to be brought to the imperial courts. The necessity of preparing digests of Hindu law according to various authorities then current was felt and the result can be seen even to-day in the well

known works of Raghu Nandana, Kamlākar Bhatta, Nīlkaṇṭha Bhatta, Bhattoji Dīkṣita, Mitramiśra, Ananta Deva, Pratāparudra Deva and Vaidnātha Dīkṣita. Most of these writers are recognised as authorities on the Hindu law and custom even today by the various High Courts. Their works form a mine of information which has not yet been systematically worked by the students of the Mughal period.

Sanskrit works on religious ceremonies, daily practices and social usages as well are numerous. I have been able to trace four hundred and eighty-nine writers whose works—some 2500 in number—have been preserved in manuscript in the various libraries of the world. Most of these works have so far been usually neglected by the writers on Mughal history. The historians of Sanskrit literature as well have not usually noted them mostly because they have found no Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Harṣa, or Bhāravi among them. Yet to a student of the Mughal period who wants to acquaint himself with the lives of the people, these works form a surer guide than the traveller's tales of the Europeans who came to India in those days or the dry chronicles of the Muslims writers who were never able to penetrate deeply into Hindu customs and ceremonies.

To give an example, if we confine our attention to the reign of Shāh Jahān alone, we have the works of various writers who let us into the secrets of

the age. Kṛṣnadatta Miśra wrote in 1650 a Guide to the Sacred Places of Kurukṣetra whereas Vijyānanda performed a similar service for Benares. Gangādhara compiled Manuals for the celebration of various festivals, Govinda dealt with astrology, Jīvagoswāmin expounded the rising cult of devotion in many of his famous works, and Nīlkaṇṭha Dīkṣita followed him in his exposition of the Bhakti cult. Puruṣottama showed the pilgrims to Puri how they were to discharge their religious obligations there. Mahādeva explained the technique of the construction of the Pandālas. Rāma Chandra and Vidyādhara discussed the religious duties of the Hindus. Ramāśrama commented on their daily prayers. Various other writers commented on various philosophical speculations or wrote on several other questions concerning their rites and ceremonies. Those historians of Mughal India who want to reconstruct a picture of these times will do well to turn their attention to this unexplored source. Then alone will we have a picture of Mughul India which will explain not only her kings and queens but her saints and scholars as well.

The Vernacular literature as well will amply pay perusal. Here again we have to admit, that not much has yet been done to explore, for example, the works of the Hindi poets. Tulsi Dās and Bihārī, Keshav and Bhūshan, Matirām and Sūrdās represent usually a sealed book to the student of Indian history. Some have gone to them in search

of political history and of literary portraits, found them wanting in the art of true portraiture, and left them in disgust. But political history apart, their works can be very usefully read in order to furnish us with a picture of the times ; the foibles of its men of letters, the weakness of its literary patrons and their attitude towards various problems, social, religious or economic. Here alone shall we find a key to help us in understanding the emergence of a Rām Dās, Tukārām, Nānak, Chaitanya or Guru Govind. Our study of the religious and the social movements of the period is as yet incomplete. The only way to fill in the meagre outline lies in these neglected by-paths of literature. Some 567 writers have been catalogued by the Mishra Brothers in the *Mishra Bandhu Vinod* to which the reader is referred in order to gain a better insight into the period. Two very important works deserve a special mention. (233) The *Ādi Granth* (Gurumukhī) compiled by Guru Arjun is a useful work which can be profitably used for drawing up a picture of the contemporary world besides letting us into the religious beliefs of the Sikhs. (234) The *Dasam Granth* can be usefully studied for understanding the transformation of Sikhism.

XII

FOREIGN WRITERS

The works of the foreign writers have already been classified. The Jesuit writings on Mughal history have found a special field for Father Hosten's studies and Sir Edward Maclagan's researches. A detailed biography is to be found in the latter's work—*the Jesuits and the Great Mughals.* Generally speaking their works can be divided into three categories. The letters written by members of various Jesuits Missions credited to the Mughal emperors to their principals in Goa contain their reaction to their Mughal surrounding and the reports of their work. There are then the Annual Letters sent by the Archbishop from Goa to the Pope in Rome or the Portuguese Government in Lisbon. Then there are the individual observations of the various Jesuit missionaries. The last group of works deserves a more careful study on account of its greater intrinsic value. The first two are mainly reports of their works submitted to a superior authority by the writers. It has become customary to attach rather undue importance to these works since Vincent Smith overemphasized their value and used them to tone down the prosperous colours in which Persian historians had painted

the Mughal period. The later and more careful work of subsequent writers has not fulfilled the high hopes held forth by Vincent Smith. Particularly are their observations to be discounted when these reports touch the subject nearest to their hearts—the conversion of the Mughal emperors to Christianity. Akbar's liberal views and his religious curiosity could not be understood, much less appreciated, by those clericals who were accustomed to the horrors of the Inquisition on the Continent. Naturally they very often promised their readers the glad tidings of the impending conversion of the Mughal Emperor only to confound him later by exhibiting him defending Islam in open debate with them. The same is true of their official accounts of Jahāngīr's religious views. They further failed to understand that an Indian parent would have recourse to all sorts of charms in order to save the life of his ailing child without any intention of leaving his ancestral religion. It is in the accounts of the Jesuits compiled for their own amusements or profit that we find them at their best. Here they relate whatever they saw. We have to remember that foreigners as they were, not all of them understood well the language of the people. Not all of them had equal opportunities or the same aptitude for acquiring information about matters Indian. The strange rather than the normal, scandal rather than sober truth, and the spectacular rather than the ordinary, usually attracted them.

We have two contemporary compilations as well detailing the relations of Akbar and Jahāngīr with the Jesuits. Du Jarric and Guerreiro used the contemporary Jesuit materials for compiling their accounts which fortunately for the English readers have now been translated into English as (235) *Akbar and the Jesuits* and (236) *Jahāngīr and the Jesuits.*

De Laet's (237) *Account of India* is a contemporary version of Indian events which is very useful for the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr.

Monserrate's (238) *Commentary* is partly a journal of his journey when he accompanied Akbar on his expedition to Kabul. Pelsaert's (239) Account of India has also been translated into English as *Jahāngīr's India* and is of considerable help to us.

Pelsaert wrote (240) a *History of Mughal India* which was translated by De Laet into Latin. He wrote in Dutch originally, probably basing his account on a Persian chronicle. An English translation of the Dutch original with notes will shortly be published by Professor Brij Narain and the present writer.

Of the European travellers to India during the period, about three scores have left their accounts of the country. These differ in the quality as well as the fullness of their versions. Some have left us short journals which saw the light of the day —usually in '*Purchas, His pilgrimage*', and '*Pur-*

chas, His Pilgrim' or in the '*Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*' of Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616). These have been reissued by the Hakluyt Society and can be conveniently studied in these excellent editions. Others have left us more ambitious works, full and regular accounts of the places they visited, observations on men and things they met and saw, supplemented with accounts of contemporary events or sometimes diversions into the earlier history of the country as well. Here again we have to remember that we have in the travellers a curious group of men of all types differing not only in their capacity for observing, analysing, and recounting events and situations, but their credulity, curiosity, and scepticism as well. They compiled their accounts for the instruction or the amusement of their contemporaries in Europe who had no better means of appraising their works. Further, being foreigners they had their inborn and in some cases acquired prejudices and prepossessions as well. Even to-day in spite of the frequent mixing up of the various national types, in spite of the shrinkage of the globe by miraculous—or what must seem miraculous to the people of the sixteenth or the seventeenth century if they were to revisit the world to-day—means of communication, national prejudices are still persisting. To expect an average European Christian of the sixteenth or seventeenth century to give us a balanced account of men and things in

'heathen or moorish India', even when he had unusual means of learning about them, would be to expect almost the impossible. Thus while studying these travellers' tales it is necessary for us to be on our guard. We must learn to distinguish between facts and fancies, observations and opinions and character sketches and characterizations. In every case we must first learn what chances of learning the truth of various matters a particular writer had. Here again we may discover that whereas a particular individual had unrivalled opportunities of learning about military organization, his chances of knowing anything of the land revenue administration might have been almost nil. We shall then have to accept his account of the military organization whereas we may have to reject all that he may say about the revenue administration. It is difficult to pronounce every traveller trustworthy or otherwise as a whole and then accept or reject his statements on any particular issue on the strength of that evaluation.

For Humayun's reign we have Sidi 'Alī Rais's (241) *Travels*, translated into English by Vembrey. For Akbar the (242) the *Account of Ralph Fitch* can now be conveniently read in Foster's *Early English Travels in India.*

John Huyghen van Linschoten, a Dutch Traveller spent five years in Goa (1583-88). His account of the country has been translated into English and can be read in the edition published by the Haklu-

yt Society as (243) *A Voyage in the East Indies* and forms a very important source of information. Hawkin's (244) Account of India can now be conveniently read in Foster's *Early English Travels in India.* This also includes accounts of (245) Mildenhall, (246) Finch, (247) Withington, (248) Coryat and (249) Terry, all of whom visited India under Jahāngīr. Among other better known accounts of India and narrations of its history by European Travellers in the reign of Jahāngīr we have (249) *Travels* of Peter Della Valle (1623-1624), (250) the Account of the *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* and Jourdan's (251) *Journal of a Voyage in the East Indies* and can all be studied in the editions edited for and published by the Hakluyt Society. Shāh Jahān's reign attracted a large number of travellers many of whom have left us their accounts. Peter Mundy's (252) *Travels* (1628-1634), Manrique's (253) *Account of his Mission and Travels,* Sir Thomas Herbert's (254) *Travels* (1634), and Middleton's (255) *Voyage,* Van Twist's (256) *General Description of India* (1638) in Dutch, (257) *Account of the Travels of George Ardries* (1644-50) in German are some of the valuable accounts of the period. The reign of Aurangzeb saw Manucci at work on his (258) *Story of Mughal India,* besides witnessing Ovington (260, *A Voyage to Surat,*) Bernier, (261, *Travels,*) Tavernier, (262, *Travels*) *Marshal,* (263, *John Marshal* in *India,* edited by Dr. S. A. Khan) and Thavenot,

(264, *Account of Mogor India*), busy in gathering information which they put to such good use in their works. Mandelslo [(265) *Voyages and travels into the East Indies,* 1669, English translation] and Fryer, [(266) *Account of East India and Persia,* 1695,] wrote during the same reign. Fari-ya-Sousa's (267) *Description of Portuegese Asia* was published in 1695.

The Factory Records of the various companies trading in the East form a very useful source of information. Those of the East India Company have received most attention but even they have been exploited mainly as a mine of information about trade operations of the East India Company, rather than as a source of Indian History. The published records of the company include the (268) *First Letter Book of the East-India Company;* (269) *Letters Received from the servants of the East-India Company in the East;* (270) *Minutes of the East-India Company;* (271) *The English Factory Records* and the (272) *Calendars of the State Papers, East Indies.* They have been very well edited and the notes supplement the information contained in the original records. It would be worthwhile to publish a volume of selections from these records illustrating the political history of contemporary India. Another volume on the economic and social life of the people as depicted in these records should also be a welcome addition to historical literature. These records

preserve not only the political gossip of the times but authentic stories of unpleasant happenings as well which were not likely to find favour with Persian chroniclers. They tell us a good deal about economic conditions, commercial codes and the operations of the Indian markets as well. No student of Indian history can afford to neglect these interesting documents.

Among the Dutch records, the *Collection de Jongh* (MS.) in the Public Record Office, Hague, the *Dagh Register*, the Journal of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia (1624-81), Schorer's (273) *A Short Account of the Coromandal Coast*, 1616, English Translation by Brij Narain and MS. English Translation of *the Dutch Records* in Hague in the Public Record Office, London and commonly described as *Hague Transcripts* form an interesting series of illuminating documents. Jan Prebrere Coen's *Report concerning his work in India* has been edited by Professor Colenbrander. *A Description of the Travels in the East* by Andriesz was published in 1670. Baldaeus wrote *A Description of the East India Country, Malabar, and Coromandal Coast* which was published in 1672. Heeres compiled his *Contributions to the language, country, and population* (1595-1650) in the seventeenth century. Van Twist wrote a general Description of India about the year 1638. This has now been translated into English by Mr. Moreland and published in the journal of Indian History,

Madras, August, 1937. Terpstra's *The Settling of the Dutch on the Coast of the Coromandal* and *the Account of the East India Company in the Western Quarters* as well as Jonge's *The Foundation of the Dutch Government in The East Indies* (1595-1610) are three modern works which reproduce much valuable information from contemporary Records.

APPENDIX I.

EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS TO INDIA AND THEIR ACCOUNTS

1. Francis Bernier : *Travels in the Mughal Empire,* 1656-1668, edited by Archibald Constable.
2. Jean Baptiste Travennier : *Travels in India,* edited by V. Ball, translated from the original French edition of 1676.
3. *John Marshall in India* (1668-1672) : Notes and observations in Bengal, edited and arranged under subjects by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.
4. Manucci : *The Story of Mughal India,* English translation by William Irvine.
5. Sebestian Manrique : *Travels in India* (1629-43), English translation, Hakluyt Society.
6. Thomas Roe : *Embassy to India* (1615-19) edited by Sir William Foster, Hakluyt Society.
7. Pietro della Valle : *The Travels* (1623-24), Hakluyt Society.
8. John Jourdain : *The Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies,* edited by William Foster. Issued by the Hakluyt Society.
9. Francisco Pelsaert : *Jahāngīr's India.* Translated from the Dutch by Moreland.
10. Peter Mundi : *Travels of Peter Mundy* issued by the Hakluyt Society.
11. Thevenot : *Travels into the Levant.*
12. John Albert de Mandelslo in *The Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* by John Harris.
13. Ralph Fitch (1583-91) and
14. John Mildenhall (1603-05). in *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619) edited by William Foster.

15. William Hawkins, (1608-13). in *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619) edited by William Foster.
16. William Finch, (1608-11) in *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619) edited by William Foster.
17. Nicholas Withington (1612-1616) in *Early Travels in India*, edited by William Foster.
18. Thomas Coryat (1614-17) in *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619) edited by William Foster.
19. John Huyghen Van Linschoten: *The Voyages of John H. V. Linschoten in Western India* (1583-1588), Hakluyt Society.
20. De Laet: *Description of India*....Translation from Latin into English by Hoyland, annotated by Bannerjee.
21. Thomas Bowrey: *A Geographical Account of the countries round the Bay of Bengal*, (1669-1679), Hakluyt Society.
22. Pyrard De Laval: *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard*, (1608-1609), of Laval, Hakluyt Society.
23. John Fryer: *A New Account of East India*, (1672-1681) Hakluyt Society.
24. Sir Thomas Herbert: *Travels into Africa and Asia.*
25. Ovington: *A Voyage to Surat* (1689).
26. Sir James Lancaster: *Voyages to the East Indies* with abstracts of voyages, preserved in the India Office of the following:—
    (*a*) Captain Keelinge and Hawkins.
    (*b*) Sherpeigh.
    (*c*) Second Voyage of Henry Middleton.
    (*d*) Sixth Voyage by Thomas Love.
    (*e*) Nicholas D.
    (*f*) Ralph Crosse.....The Hakluyt Society.

27. Alexander Sharpey, (1608)
28. William Nicholas, (1610) } in *Purchas.*
29. Joseph Salbanke, (1609)
30. Nicholas Downton, (1610-1613) : ..... *Second voyage* (1614), *Purchas.*
31. Peter Floris : *The Journal of Peter Floris,* (1611-1615), in *Purchas.*
32. John Saris : (1605-1613).
33. Sir Henry Middleton : (1610-1611).
34. Voyage of Thomas Best : (1612-1614).
35. Patrick Copeland : (1611-1614).
36. Robert Boners : (1611-1614).
37. Water Payton : (1612), Second voyage (1614).
38. Elington and Dodsworth : (1614).
39. Richard Steel and John Crowther : (1615-1616).
40. Alexander Childe : (1616).
41. Roger Hawes : (1615).
42. Edward Heynes : (1618).
43. Mortin Pring : (1618).
44. Richard Swan : (1620).
45. Ceaser Frederick : (1553-1581).
46. Hedges, *Diary of Sir William Hedges*, Hakluyt Society.
47. Streynsham, *The Diary of Master Streynsham.*

APPENDIX II.

THREE CHRONICLES OF MARWAR.

(*Modern Review*, Calcutta, April, 1923.)

The history of Medieval India has as yet been simply the history of the Delhi Court illumined here and there by the story of the outlying principalities that managed to get free of the Imperial control. The main authorities for this period have been the writings of the Muslim chroniclers. Many of them enjoyed Court patronage and were not otherwise free from certain prejudices. The history of the Hindu States of those times has thus suffered from being told mainly by hostile writers. A feeling has long prevailed that these States had hardly a history of their own told by their own historians. Tod was the first historian to tap Hindu sources but being engaged in the huge work of writing a history of the whole of Rajputana and being a pioneer in the field, he did not, and possibly could not, take due care to test the truth of some of the materials he based his conclusions upon. His mistakes have made others less ready to follow him and the Rajput chronicles have lain mostly unused. Many States of Rajputana are no doubt maintaining historical Departments but the outside public knows next to nothing about the labour of the workers there. The Asiatic Society of Bengal also planned an historical and bardic survey of Rajputana, but Dr. Tessitori who was conducting it died before he could bring his work to a conclusion. The six volumes published in the series are now going on to be followed by a text of the *Sūrya Prakāsha* of Kurni Dhan, the work of editing being done

by Pt. Ram Karn of Jodhpur. The University of Calcutta is maintaining a lecturership in the history of Rajputana in the post-graduate department, but we do not know if any work has yet been published by it. It is unfortunate that the greatest and best work on the history of Rajputana, the *Vir Vinod*, in Hindi of Kaviráj Shyámal Dás, is being withheld from the public by the obstinacy of the Mewar Durbar. The author laid most of the original authorities under contribution and profusely quoted from them. Thirty original papers are reproduced to explain, for example, the mortal quarrel between the Mewar State and Aurangzeb. We are aware of the existence of four copies only that are in private hands. The studies of Munshi Devi Prashad of Jodhpur, and Pt. Gori Shankar of the Ajmer Museum illuminate certain periods of Rajputana history. That is about all that has been done towards the elucidation of the history of Rajputana during the middle ages.

But with all that, it would not be untrue to say that the writers on Medieval India very seldom use Rajput sources. Tod's use of them seems to discredit them. They are moreover mostly in manuscript and the only catalogue known being Dr. Tessitori's *Catalogue of the Prose chronicles of Jodhpur and Bikaner*. The library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has no doubt been enriched by Dr. Tessitori's collections, but that is almost the only place where access to the chronicles is comparatively easy. The result is that whenever Rajputs are mentioned by the writers on Medieval India, it is only on the authority of the Muslim writers. But the fact is, as Dr. Vincent Smith admitted in his 'India', that almost every state maintained chroniclers who took down events as they occurred. The following description of three Rajput chronicles of Jodhpur has been mainly written with a view to em-

phasize the existence of Rajput sources as well as to remove, in however slight a degree, the erroneous impression that prevails about them.

Nensī's Khyāt or the chronicle by Mehta Nensī, Minister to Mahārājāh Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, is one of the best books known to the writers on Rajputana history. The book is in two volumes, one containing the history of Jodhpur, the other of the rest of the Rajputana States. They have been described as manuscript 12 and manuscript 6 in Dr. Tessitori's catalogue. We are here concerned with the volume on the history of Jodhpur alone. Dr. Tessitori treated it as a Gazetteer of Jodhpur and thus did not bring out its full value. Our copy contains 840+ 27 quarto pages written in running Marwari script. The book opens with a description of the Jāgīrs held by Mahārājā Jaswant Singh in 1664 A.D. Then follows a history of Marwar beginning with the Parihār rule there and then coming to Siojī and the foundation of the Rāthor kingdom. No dates are given for the early period and the information is not so full as in the case of the later rajah. The earliest date mentioned is the year 1427 of the Vikram era. The real dated history begins, however, with the accession of Rāo Jodhā (1453 A.D.). This is continued up to the year 1688 A.D. The first 20 reigns covering a period of 260 years are very briefly dealt with, only 50 pages of our manuscript being devoted to them. The five reigns from Rāo Māldeo (1532 A.D.) to Rājā Sūr Singh (died 1619) occupy as many as 150 pages while the last two reigns—a period of 45 years—take as many as 150 pages. This relative allotment of pages seems to be an index to the extent of the information of our author. He was a Prime Minister to Mahārājā Jaswant Singh and naturally his knowledge of that reign and the reign of Mahārājā Jaswant Singh's

father was almost contemporary. After this history follows a description of the different villages of the State arranged into Parganas. There is a historical introduction giving the history of each Pargana. Then the average income of every village thereof and the actual income for the years 1716, 1717, 1718, of the Vikram era is detailed. This solicitude to give actual incomes along with the average income typifies his love of accuracy. Our manuscript differs from the Bengal Asiatic Society's manuscript in omitting the account of Pohkaran and a few miscellaneous anecdotes towards the end.

As to the quality of the work, the fact that it was the work of a Prime Minister who had all the resources of the State at his command is suggestive. Mehta Nensī is in reality the Abu'l Fazl of Jodhpur. His description of the villages suggests comparison with the *Āin-i-Akbarī* while the history itself is an *Akbar-Nāma*. The information that has been tabulated in this description could not but have been the result of a careful study of the official records. There may be some truth in the remark made in the first administration report of Marwar (1883-1884) that Nensī's work was a sort of official report. The fact that it is used as a sort of authority in Marwar Courts to-day is also suggestive. Almost every event from the accession of Rāo Jodhā has been dated. No defeats have been concealed, at least none that we know of. In the description of battles, a list of the killed and the wounded is invariably given, while the names of others that took part in the battles are now and then appended. It sometimes does happen that events overlap one another in the description but the history is regular enough ordinarily. A modern historian may lament the want of any criticism of men and events in the book but medieval historians were chroniclers of events

and indulged in philosophic speculation only rarely. Of course, the book contains hardly anything about the annals of the poor but to the medieval historian they only seemed to exist. The book is a medieval chronicle brightened by the official information of a State Official.

Our second chronicle is what has been called, for lack of a better name, the Mundhyar chronicle. Mundhyar is a village, 10 miles to the south of Nagore and is held as a *sasin* (a jāgīr in charity) by a family of bards. The chronicle was brought to the historical department, Jodhpur and there copied. Our manuscript is a copy of that departmental Manuscript. Dr. Tessitori, for reasons into which we need not enter, could not get access to this chronicle. Our manuscript contains 234 pages of foolscap size. It begins with a quotation from the *Brahmānda Purāna* and therefrom it traces the genealogy of the Rāthors to the creation. At page 6 the story of Siojā and the establishment of the Rāthor Kingdom in Marwar is commenced. The history attains to fullness from Rāo Chundā's time. From thence the story of every raja contains the date of his birth, coronation and death, a list of his wives and mistresses, along with a short account of his children, legitimate and illegitimate. An account of the land given in charity to the bards and Brahmans by different rajas is given with the estimates of revenues in most cases. The account of battles resembles that in our first chronicle. As in Nensī's chronicle no defeats are concealed nor is any attempt made to make secret of any national humiliations. The marriage alliances with the Mughal Emperors and other Muslim rulers are also duly recorded. Indeed we owe our knowledge of the fact that the marriage alliances began earlier than the reign of Akbar to this and our third chronicle. We also learn from these two sources that

the so called Jodhpur Princess married to Akbar was the daughter of a slave girl of Māldeo.

It is written in simple prose which is embellished here and there by the insertions of pieces of poetry. These, however, do not seem to be the work of the author, he seems to be quoting them as popular songs about different men and events. The original manuscript appears to have ended with Mahārājā Jaswant Singh's reign (died 1678 A.D.). It was then continued by somebody else who wrote an account of his son and successor. Between the two seems to be a late interpolation of one page on Abhay Singh, the grandson of Mahārājā Jaswant Singh. The book was probably written by a bard in the reign of Mahārājā Jaswant Singh.

Our third manuscript is Kavirāj's Chronicle. The original was found some 50 years back deposited in a cavity in the wall of an old house at Jodhpur. Our copy is a transcript of the original. It consists of 68 closely written pages, of these 55 contain the regular history of the Rāthors, the rest relating the anecdote of Bhātī Gobind Dās, a Prime Minister of Rājā Sūr Singh (1594 A.D. to 1619), Rāo Rāi Mal (1437 A.D. to 1453) and Rāo Jodhā (1453 A.D. to 1485). Its arrangement of the matter and the relation of events resemble that of our second chronicle and sometimes one begins to suspect that either the one is a copy of the other or both derived their information from the same source. Yet there are certain differences which would go against such an hypothesis. Its genealogy begins from Brahmā connecting the Rāthors with him.

It follows the *Prithvī Rāj Rāsā* in antedating Jai Chand and Prithvī Rāj by about a hundred years and consequently its earlier dates are wrong. But the mistake vanishes when we approach the times of Rāo Chundā and further on that of Rāo Jodhā. It tells

the story of the migration from Kanoj shortly and then begins the history of the Rāthors in Marwar. This is continued to the times of Mahārājā Jaswant Singh. Like our first two chronicles it also seems to have been written in the time of Mahārāja Jaswant Singh.

These three chronicles represent but a very small part of the historical material that Rajputana can supply. Its study is necessary not only for a history of Rajputana, but it may, and does, throw light on the general course of Indian history during the period. Many topics on which the Muslim historians are silent or throw insufficient light can be elucidated by a study of this vast material.*

*We may mention here the fact that the Rajput sources furnish a detailed account of Sher Shāh's route when he attacked Jodhpur in 1644 and from them alone we learn the occasion, if not the cause, of this expedition.

APPENDIX III.

SANSKRIT WRITERS OF THE MUGHAL PERIOD

(*a*) *Sanskrit Writers of Akbar's Reign.*

1. Anantadeva, patronized by Bāz Bahādur of Malava, is the author of the famous work ***Dattakadīdhiti*** recognized as the standard work on adoption by our High Courts even to-day. He wrote, besides, *Saṃskārakaustubha* of which the above is one of the twelve parts. He is the author of works on expiations of different offences, a description of Mathurā, and an essay on devotion.
2. Ananta, author of various works on astrology.
3. Anantadeva, son of Appadeva wrote on devotion, law and penances.
4. Anonymous.
   (*i*) A work on the consecretion of Paṇḍalas (1574).
   (*ii*) An Anukramaṇī of Nighaṇṭu, (1562).
   (*iii*) Cayanaprayoga on the construction of five altars (1590).
5. Kavikarṇapūra wrote on poetics, and metaphors, besides being the author of a drama with Caitanya as its hero and an account of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana.
6. Kavicandra, author of works on medicine, poetics, and grammar.
7. Keśava Miśra, patronised by Rājā Mānak Chandra of Kangra in the Punjab, wrote on poetics, similes and metaphors.
8. Keśava, on astrology.

9. Nārāyaṇa.
10. Gaṅgādhara author of *Manoramā.*
11. Guṇavyaya Gaṇi wrote a commentary on *Raghuvaṃśa,* and another on the story of Damayantī.
12. Gopālācārya commented on *Rasamañjarī.*
13. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa wrote several works on devotion.
14. Gopāladāsa wrote on devotion.
15. Cintāmaṇi Miśra wrote on poetics.
16. Rāmakṛṣṇa wrote on law, astrology and various other subjects.
17. Rāmakṛṣṇa commented on *Parāśara Smṛti.*
18. Rāmadāsa.
19. Rūpa Gosvāmin, author of more than thirty works on devotion, poetics, dramaturgy.
20. Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa on poetics.
21. Vijñānabhikṣu, author of some eighteen known works on different subjects.
22. Viśvanātha commented on several rituals.
23. Vīrabhadradeva on erotics.
24. Vedānta Dīkṣita wrote on law.
25. Vedyarāja on medicine.
26. Śaṅkara Miśra commented on Vaiśeṣikasūtras.
27. Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, author of some eight works.
28. Śiva, son of Rāma.
29. Śivarāma, a voluminous author.
30. Śrīvallabha.
31. Sādhusundaragni.
32. Samaya Sundaragni.
33. Haradatta Miśra.
34. *Vīrabhadradeva Campū,* anonymous in 1587.
35. Jīvagosvāmin wrote various works mainly on devotion.
36. Toḍar Mall wrote on medicine.
37. Nīlakaṇṭha wrote under the patronage of Toḍar Mall, '*Todarānanda*', a voluminous work on judicial procedure, auspicious times for mar-

riages, religious ceremonies and law and medicine.

38. Dhuṇḍirāja wrote some thirteen works on astronomy and astrology.
39. Dāmodara Paṇḍita wrote for his patron Chuhar Mall.
40. Dhanvin wrote on ritualism.
41. Nanda Paṇḍita was a great jurist.
42. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote on philosophy.
43. Nārāyaṇa Saraswatī.
44. Nārāyaṇa wrote on the determination of auspicious hours.
45. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa is the author of some thirty-three works on various subjects.
46. Nārāyaṇa wrote on eclipses.
47. Nīlakaṇṭha, a great astrologer and astronomer wrote some twenty works.
48. Narasiṃha Sarasvatī wrote on Vedānta.
49. Pūrṇānanda wrote more than a dozen volumes of Tantric subjects.
50. Prabhākara, commentator and author.
51. Mahīdhara of Benares is the author of some sixteen works.
52. Raghunandana Sūri.
53. Raghunandana Bhaṭṭa wrote on devotion, law and ceremonial.
54. Raghunandana Miśra author of *Toḍara Prakāśa*, work on law written under the patronage of Rājā Toḍar Mall.
55. Raghunātha Siromaṇi is the author of some 31 known works on various subjects.
56. Ratneśvara Miśra.
57. Ratnanāthārya.
58. Rāma wrote on astronomy.

(*b*) *Sanskrit Writers of Jahāngīr's Reign.*

1. Ananta Bhaṭṭa wrote nine works on various subjects, one of them *Vidhāna Pārijāta* was definitely composed in 1625 A.D.
2. *Caitanya Caritāmritam* was composed in 1625 A.D. probably by Kriṣṇa Dāsa Kavirāja.
3. *Karkabhāṣyam* was composed in 1615 A.D. by an unknown writer.
4. *Aṣṭodayādhikāra*, on astronomy, was written about 1624 A.D. by a writer whose name is not traceable.
5. Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa. Between 1610 and 1640 A.D. he wrote about ninety works in Sanskrit on Law, daily duties, consecration of wells, etc., coronation of kings, astronomy, astrology, Saṃskāras, philosophy, judicial procedure, and poetry. His famous work, *Nirṇaya Sindhu* (printed), written in 1612, has been accepted as a work of authority on Hindu Law by the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta.
6. Kṛṣṇa Gaṇaka served under Jahāngīr and wrote several works on astronomy and astrology.
7. Gaṇeśa Daivajña, son of Gopāla, wrote *Jātakālaṃkāra* on horoscopy in 1613 A.D.
8. Gaṅgādhara, son of Rāma Candra, wrote *Pravāsakritya* at Cambay in 1606-1607 A.D. This describes the duties of a Nagrik Brahman driven to a foreign country for the sake of livelihood or otherwise.
9. Gourīśa Bhaṭṭa wrote *Anumaraṇapradīpa* in 1609.
10. Cāmuṇḍa Kāyastha wrote *Jvartimirābhaskara* in 1623.
11. Cintāmaṇi composed *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* in 1607.
12. Jayaratna, a physician, wrote *Jvaraparājayaḥ*, on the treatment of fevers in 1605.

13. Jagannātha, another Hindu physician, wrote *Yogasaṅgraha* on medicine, in 1616 A.D.
14. Jinarāja (1591 to 1643) wrote *Naiśadhīyaṭīkā*.
15. Dāmodara.
16. Dādā wrote *Dattārka Dharmaśāstra* in 1621.
17. Divākara, born in 1606, and a voluminous writer, author of some seventeen works wrote some of them during Jahāngīr's reign.
18. Nanda Paṇḍita, a great writer on law, wrote mostly between 1595 to 1630 A.D.
19. Narasiṃha wrote a commentary on *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra*.
20. Nārāyaṇna wrote a work on devotion at the instance of Rājā Hari Dās of Benares.
21. Nārāyaṇa Śarmā wrote a commentary on the famous dictionary of Amara Sinha in 1619.
22. Nāgeśa wrote a tract on astronomy in 1620.
23. The literary activities of Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa ranged between the year 1610 and 1645. His famous work on Hindu law, dedicated to his patron, Bhagvanta Deva, a Bundela chief and known after him as *Bhagavanta Bhāskara*, is recognized as an authority by the High Court of Bombay.
24. Narasiṃha wrote a commentary on the astronomical work *Sūryasiddhānta* in 1611.
25. Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. He was alive in about 1610 A.D. and wrote verses in praise of Hari.
26. The famous grammarian and author of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and several other works lived about the years 1575-1650 A.D. and was alive during Jahāngīr's reign. Some of his works must have been written during this period.
27. Balabhandra Śukla wrote his *Kunda-tattvapradīpa* in 1623.

28. Mahādeva Vidyāvāgīśa wrote a commentary on *Ānanda Lahari* in 1606.
29. The literary activities of Mitra Kṛṣṇa the famous jurist, whose work *Vīramitrodaya* is recognized as an authority by the Privy Council on the Hindu Law of the Benares school, were spread over a period of 30 years between 1610 to 1640.
30. Mohana Miśra Tarkatilaka wrote a commentary on *Kālanirṇaya* discussing auspicious times for various sacrifices.
31. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa who flourished between the years 1545 to 1625 wrote his *Kālatattavavivecana* in 1620 and may have written some of his other undated works in the reign of Jahangir.
32. Ratna Siṃha wrote his *Pradyumna-carita*, a biography in verse of Pradyumna in 1615.
33. Rāma composed his *Rāmavinoda* for Rāmadāsa, a former Minister of Akbar, in 1613-14.
34. Rāmarṣi commented on Ravidāsa's *Nalodaya* in 1608.
35. Rūpa Gosvāmin whom Jahāngīr respected so much died in 1618 A.D. Though he was very old on Jahangīr's accession (being 78), he seems from Jahāngīr's account to have still led an active life in his reign. Some of his 39 works may have been written in Jahangīr's time.
36. Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa is the author of two works on Dharmaśāstra, one of them has already been printed.
37. Lakṣmaṇa wrote a treatise on Yoga in 1613 A.D.
38. Lakṣmī Dāsa wrote on the determination of auspicious hours in 1618.
39. Viṭhala Dīkṣita wrote his *Kundamaṇḍapasiddhi* and its commentary in 1620. Some of his other works may also have been written during Jahāngīr's reign.

40. Viṣṇu Daivajña wrote a commentary on *Sūrya-prakāśaśaraṇa* in 1613.
41. Viśvanātha Daivajña wrote several works between the years 1612-1630.
42. Vaidya Nātha Bhaṭṭa, a Vedic scholar, wrote *Lakṣaṇaratna* as an aid to the study of the Black Yajurveda.
43. Śaṅkara wrote several works on devotion, astronomy and ritual.
44. Śrīvimalaprabodha Parivrājaka wrote in 1610 his *Kalikālakrama Vacanam.*
45. Sādhu Sundarāgni wrote several lexicons. *Uktiratnākara* explains Sanskrit words in Prakrit.
46. Samaya Sundarāgni, a voluminous writer, wrote works on various subjects.
47. Sundara Miśra wrote on dramaturgy.
48. Sumati Harṣa wrote several commentaries.
49. *Voṇṭhalakṣaṇa,* an index of words in the Ṛg Veda arranged according to their peculiarities was written at Benares in 1622 by an unknown author.

(*c*) *Sanskrit Writers of Shah Jahan's Reign.*

1. Ananta Bhaṭṭa.
   He wrote Tīrtharatnākara for his patron Anūpa Siṃha.
2. Ananta Paṇḍita.
   He commented on *Govardhana Saptaśati,* and *Rasa Mañjārī* of Bhānu Datta (1636 A.D.), and wrote a prose version of Mudrā Rākṣasa.
3. Ananta Deva.
   He wrote a commentary on Kātyāyana's Śrauta-sūtra.
4. Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, the famous jurist.
5. Kavīndrācārya.
   He was a Vedic scholar, and wrote a commentary

on the Ṛg-Veda, of which only a fragment is now available.

6. Kamalākara.
He was an astronomer, and wrote various works on the subject.

7. Kavicandra.
He was a grammarian, and wrote several commentaries on grammatical texts.

8. Kṛṣṇa.
He wrote an elementary text book of grammar in 1645.

9. Kṛṣṇadatta Miśra.
In about 1650, he compiled a guide to the sacred places of Kurukṣetra.

10. Kālidāsa.
One of his works was written in 1632.

11. Gaṅgādhara.
His two works on astronomy bear the date 1633.

12. Gaṅgādhara.
He compiled some manuals on festivals.

13. Govinda.
He wrote a work on astrology in 1638 mainly concerning the determination of auspicious times for various works.

14. Gokulajit.
He was an astronomer, and wrote thereon in 1632-1633.

15. Gaurīpati.
He commented on Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta in 1640.

16. Cintāmaṇi.
He was interested in poetry, and wrote a manual on metre in 1630.

17. Jagannātha.
He was the court paṇḍita of Shah Jahan, and wrote various works in that capacity. He wrote his Jagadābharaṇa in Dara's praise,

and Āsaf Vilāsa in praise of Āsaf Khan. His Bhāminī Vilāsa treats of erotics. He wrote, besides, several works on grammar, poetics, and in praise of the various gods.

18. Jagadānanda Śarman.
19. Jinārjuna.
20. Jīvagosvāmin.
    He was a nephew of Rūpagosvāmin, the famous leader of the Bhakti school during this period. Some of his famous works on devotion must have been written during this period.
21. Dayā Dviveda.
    A collection of several moral stories written in 1628 is attributed to him.
22. Durgā Dās.
    He wrote a text book on grammar in 1639.
23. Devasāgara.
    A grammarian, he was interested in etymology and wrote a treatise thereon in 1630.
24. Dhanarāja.
25. Nanda Paṇḍita.
    Another great jurist.
26. Nityānanda.
    Like Jagannātha he was also a portege of Āsaf Khan, and wrote two works on astronomy dated 1629 and 1640.
27. Nīlakaṇṭha Śarman.
    He was a grammarian and one text book written in 1639 bears his name.
28. Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa.
    He was attached to Bhagavant Deva, a Bundelā chief. After the name of his patron, he wrote Bhagavant Bhāskara on law which is recognised as an authority on Hindu law by the High Court at Bombay.

29. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.
He was a voluminous writer, and is the author of some sixty-three works on grammar and devotion, several of which have been printed.

30. Puruṣottama.
In 1628, he wrote a manual on the religious duties of the pilgrims to Jagannātha.

31. Balabhadra.
He was a mathematician, and wrote several works on astronomy and mathematics.

32. Bhāvadeva Miśra.
He belonged to Patna, and wrote several works on Yoga, Vedānta, and devotion.

33. Bhāvadeva.
In 1649 he wrote a commentary on the Vedānta-sūtra.

34. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.
This famous grammarian and jurist was still alive.

35. Maṇirāma.
He was a physician, and wrote a text book on medicine in 1642.

36. Maṇirāma Dīkṣita.
He was another protege of Anūpa Siṃha.

37. Mādhava Śukla.
His work *Kundakalpadruma* written in 1656 has been printed.

38. Mādhava Jyotirvid.

39. Mahādeva.
He was a Paṇḍita interested in the technique of rites, and wrote a work explaining the construction of sacrificial Paṇḍālas.

40. Mitramiśra.
The famous jurist whose works are still recognized

as an authority by the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta.

41. Raghunātha.
Another jurist who wrote a work on Dharmaśāstra in 1656.

42. Raṅganātha.
He commented on the *Vikramorvaśi* in 1656.

43. Rāmacandra.
He discussed the religious duties of the Hindus.

44. Rājarṣi.
He was an astrologer and wrote a work on astrology in 1633.

45. Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati.
He was a great scholar and wrote various works on law, poetics, astronomy, ritual and lexicography. He commented on the *Śākuntala*.

46. Rāmāśrama.
He wrote a commentary on the daily prayers of the Hindus.

47. Datta.

48. Vijayānanda.
He described the beauties and religious attractions of Benares in 1641.

49. Vidyānanda.
He was a grammarian, and wrote a work on etymology.

50. Vidyādhara.
His patron was Rājā Vīrabhadra of Rajkot. He wrote several works on the religious duties of the Hindus in 1639 and 1644.

51. Viṣṇu Puri.
He selected verses on the devotion from the various Purāṇas and wrote two independent works on devotion.

52. Viṣṇu.

53. Viśvarāma.

54. Viśvarūpa.
55. Viśvānātha Daivajña.
56. Viśvanātha Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya.
    He was a great philosopher, and wrote on various schools of Hindu philosophy.
57. Vedāṅgarāja.
    He was a protege of Shāh Jahān. He wrote Pārsi Prakāśaka, a vocabulary of Persian and Arabic terms used in Indian astronomy and astrology in 1643.
58. Veṇidatta.
    He wrote a dictionary in 1644 and a biography of Vāmadeva.
59. Śiva Rāma.
    He was a Vedic scholar, and wrote on chanting of Vedic mantras, on poetics, and Dharmaśāstra.
60. Śrī Dharmapati Śarman.
    He compiled a commentary on *Prabhākara-candrodaya.*
61. Sahajakīrta.
    He was a Jain and wrote two works on Jainism.
62. Haridatta Bhaṭṭa.
    After the name of his patron, Rājā Jagat Singh he wrote Jagadbhūṣaṇa in 1630.
63. In 1632 an unknown writer wrote a commentary on *Atharvana Prātiśākhya.*

APPENDIX IV

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF MUGHAL INDIA.

In the list of original authorities that follows, our sources of information have been classified according to the reigns of the various emperors. Within the same reign, these works have again been divided into eleven classes in which they were divided in the body of the work. Thus,

I. Denotes official documents.
II. Represents official histories.
III. Stands for royal autobiographies.
IV. Groups non-official histories together.
V. Describes provincial histories.
VI. Gives details of the biographies and memoirs.
VII. Denotes gazetteers.
VIII. Stands for private letter-books.
IX. Describes manuals of administration.
X. Gives the names of literary works.
XI. Represents European writers.

BĀBUR

I

1. Ruqqa'āt-i-'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh.

II

2. Akbar Nāma by Abu'l Fazl.

III

3. Tuzak-i-Bāburī.

IV

4. Waqi'āt-i-Bāburī by Zāin-ud-Dīn.
5. Humāyūn Nāma by Gulbadan Begum.
6. Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'āt by Jauhar.
7. Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī by 'Abbās.
8. Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī by 'Abdullah.
9. Makhzan-i-Afghānī by Ni'mat Ullah.
10. Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afāghana by Ahmad Yādgār.
11. Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī by Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn.
12. Muntkhib-ut-Tawārīkh by 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī.
13. Tārīkh-i-Firishta by Muhammad Qāsim Firishta.
14. Tārīkh-i-Alfī by Mullā Ahmad.
15. Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Temuria.
16. Muntakhib-ut-Tawārīkh by Yahyā-bin-'Abdul Latīf.
17. Rauzat-ut-Tāhrīn by Tāhar Muhammad.
18. Zabd-ut-Twārīkh by Nūr-ul-Haq.
19. Muntakhib-ut-Tawārīkh by Hasan.

20. Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī by Mu'tamid Khān.
21. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh by Sujān Rāi.
22. Mujmal-i-Mufassil by Muhammad.
23. Tārīkh-i-Bābur-o-Akbar-o-Shāh Jahān.
24. Āsār-i-Shāh Jahānī by Muhammad Sādiq of Delhi.
24*a*. Sarvadeśavṛtāntasangrah by Maheśa Pati.

V

25. Tārīkh-i-Sindh by Muhammad Ma'sūm.

VI

26. Akhbār-ul-Akhayār by 'Abdul Haq.
27. Janam Sākhī by Sewā Dās.
28. Ādi Granth compiled by Guru Arjan Dev.
29. Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī by Muhammad Haidar.

IX

30. Dastūr-ul-'Amal (Bankipur).

X

31. Faqqa-i-Bāburī by Bābur.
32. Dīwan-i-Bāburī by Bābur.

HUMĀYŪN

I

1. Fayyāz-ul-Qawānin by Muhammad 'Alī Hasan Khān.
2. Ruqqa'āt-i-'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh.

II

2*a*. Akbar Nāma by Abu'l Fazl.

IV

3. Humāyūn Nāmā by Gulbadan Begum.
4. Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'āt by Jauhar.
5. Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhi by 'Abbās.
6. Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī by 'Abdullah.
7. Makhzan-i-Afghānī by Ni'matullah.
8. Humāyūn Nāmā by Khwand Mīr.
9. Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī by Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn.
10. Muntakhib-ut-Tawārīkh by 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī.
11. Tārīkh-i-Firishta by Muhammad Qāsim Firishta.
12. Tārīkh-i-Alafī by Mulla Ahmad.
13. Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Temuria.
14. Muntakhib-ut-Tawārīkh by Yahya-bin-'Abdul Latīf.
15. Rauzat-ut-Tāhrīn by Tāhar Muhammad.
16. Muntakhib-ut-Tawārīkh by Hasan.
17. Zabd-ut-Tawārīkh by Nūr-ul-Haq.
18. Iqbāl-Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī by Mu'tmid Khān.
19. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh by Sujān Rāi.
20. Tārīkh-i-Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī.
21. Mujmal-i-Maffasil by Muhammad Bahārī.

22. Āsār-i-Shāh Jahānī by Muhammad Sādiq of Delhi.

22*a*. Sarvadeśavṛtāntasangrah by Maheśa Patī. (Sanskrit).

V

23. Tārīkh-i-Sindh by Muhammad Ma'sūm.
24. Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī by Sikandar.
25. Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī by 'Alī Muhammad Khān.
26. Jināt-ul-Fardūs by Mirza Muhammad.

VI

27. Ma'āsir-ul-Umrā, by Shāh Nawāz Khān, edited by Abdul Hay.
28. Chhand Rāo Jayatsi. (Hindi).
29. Sair-ul-'Ārfīn by Shaikh Jamāl.
30. Akhabār-ul-Akhayār by 'Abdul Haq.
31. Saīr-ul-Iqtāb by Allah Dāya.
32. Munāqib-i-Ghausiya by Shāh Fazl.
33. Janam Sākhī by Sewā Dās (Gurumukhi).
34. Ādi Granth compiled by Guru Arjan Dev. (Gurumukhi).

VIII

35. Account of Jodhpur by Mehta Nainsi (Hindi).

IX

36. Inshā-i-Yūsafī by Muhammad Yūsaf.
37. Inshā-i-Nāmī by Khawand Mīr.
38. Ruqqa'āt-i-Qalami or Nāmā-i-Nāmī.

X

39. Dastūr-ul-'Amal (Bankipur).

XI

40. Travels of Sidi 'Alī Rais (English translation by Vembrey).

AKBAR

I

1. Jarīda Frāmīn-i-Salātīni-i-Delhi.
2. Inshā-i-Abu'l Fazl.
3. Fayyāz-ul-Qawānīn by Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Hasan Khān.
4. Ruqqa'āt-i-'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh.

II

5. Akbar Nāmā by Abu'l Fazal.

IV

6. Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī by Bakhshi Nizām-ud-Dīn.
7. Muntakhib-ut-Tawārīkh by 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī.
8. Tārīkh-i-Firishta by Muhammad Qāsim Firishta.
9. Tārīkh-i-Alfī by Mullā Ahmad.
10. Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Temūria.
11. Mutakhib-ut-Tawārīkh by Yahyā-bīn-'Abdul Latīf.
12. Rauzat-ut-Tāhrīn by Tāhar Muhammad.
13. Zabd-ut-Tawārīkh by Nur-ul-Haq.
14. Muntakhib-ut-Tawārīkh by Hasan.
15. Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī by Mu'tmid Khān.
16. Khulāsaī-ut-Tawārīkh by Sujān Rāi.
17. Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī by Kamgār Ghairat Khān.
18. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī by Jahāngīr.
19. Tārīkh-i-Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī.
20. Mujmal-i-Muffasil by Muhammad.
21. Tārīkh-i-Bābur-o-Akbar-o-Shān Jahān.

22. Āsār-i-Shāh Jahānī by Muhammad Sādiq of Delhi.
23. Tazkirat-ul-Malūk by Mirzā Raffī'-ud-Dīn.

V

24. Tārīkh-i-Sindh by Muhammad Ma'sūm.
25. Belgār Nāma.
26. Tārīkh-i-Tāharī by Tāhar Muhammad.
27. Mirāt-i-Sikandarī by Sikandar.
28. Mirāt-i-Ahmadī by 'Alī Muhammad Khān.
29. Tārīkh-i-Gujarat by Tarab 'Alī.
30. Rayāz-us-Salātin by Ghulam Husain.
31. Tārīkh-i-Bengal by Salim Ullah.
32. Tārīkh-i-A'zami by Muhammad A'zam.
33. Jināt-ul-Fardūs by Mirza Muhammad.
34. Khyāt by Mehta Nainsi (Hindi).
35. Khyat (Kaviraj's) (Hindi).
36. Khyāt (Mundhyar) (Hindi).

VI

37. Waqi'āt-i-Asad Beg by Asad Beg.
38. Safar Nāma by Abdul Latif.
39. Maāsir-i-Rahīmī by Muhammad 'Abdul Bāqī.
40. Maāsir-ul-Umrā by Shāh Nawāz Khān, edited by 'Abdul Hay.
41. Tazkirat-ul-Umrā by Kewal Rām.
42. Biography of Karam Chand in Sanskrit by Jai Soma.
43. Rājā Prashasti by Ranchhor Bhatta (Sanskrit).
44. Jai Singh Charita by Mān Kavi (Hindi).
45. Amara Kāvya by Ranchhor Bhatta (Sanskrit).
46. Sea and land travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the 16th century by Tārā Nāth (original in Chinese, English translation by Professor Tucci in I. H. Q. December, 1931).

47. Akhabār-Ul-Akhayār by ' Abdul Haq.
48. Sair-ul-Iqtāb by Allah Dayā.
49. Mīrāt-ul-Khayāl by Shaikh Ibn 'Ali Ahmad Khān.
50. Safīnat-ul-Auliyā by Dārā Shikoh.
51. Munāqib-i-Ghausiya by Shāh Fazl.
52. Janam Sākhi by Sewā Dās. (Gurumukhi).
53. Ādi Granth Compiled by Guru Arjun Dev. (Gurumukhi).

53*a*. Hīrasaubhāgyam by Vimalamuni (Sanskrit).

VII.

54. Haft Aqlīm by Amīn Ahmad Rāzī.
55. Account of Jodhapur by Mehta Nensī (Hindi).

VIII.

56. Raqqa'āt-i-Hakīm Abu'l Fath Gīlānī.
57. Ruqqa'āt-i-Abu'l Fazl.
58. Inshā-i-Faizi.
59. India Office Persian MS, Ethe 2118.
60. Mi'yār-ul-Adrāk by Tughra.
61. Inshā-i-'Ināyat Ullah.
62. Maktubāt-i-Muhammad Ma'sūm.
63. Ruqqa'āt-i-Qalami or Nāma-i-Nāmī.

IX.

64. Khallāq-us-Sayyāq.
65. Zawābat-i-'Ālamgīrī.
66. Dastūr-ul-'Amal (Bankipur)
67. Dastūr-ul-'Amal (Aligarh).
68. Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Todar Mal.
69. Farhang-i-Kārdānī by Jagat Rāi.
70. Hadāyatul-Qāwānīn (Manual of Officials' Duties) by Hidāyat Ullah.
71. Dastūr-i-Jahan-i-Kūsha by Khair Ullah.

X.

72. Dabistān-i-Mazāhib by Fānī.

See the list of the Sanskrit writers of Akbar's reign in Appendix III.

XI.

73. Akbar and the Jesuits by Du Jarric.
74. Account of India by De Laet.
75. Commentry by Monserrate.
76. History of Mughal India by Palsaert.
77. Early English Travels in India, edited by Foster.
78. A Voyage in the East Indies by Linschoten.
79. The First Letter Book of the E. I. Co.
80. The Court Minutes of the E. I. Co.

JAHĀNGIR.

I.

1. Guldasta-i-Frāmīn-i-Jahāngīrī.
2. Inshā-i-Har Karan by Har Karan.
3. Fayyāz-ul-Qāwanīn by Nawāb Muhammad 'Alī Hasan Khān.
4. Ruqq'aāt-i-'Ināyat Khan Rāsikh.
5. Jaipur Records.

III.

6. Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī.

IV.

7. Zabd-ut-Tawārikh by Nūr-ul-Haq.
8. Muntakhib-ut-Tawārīkh by Hasan.
9. Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī by Mu'tamid Khān.
10. Khulās-ut-Tawarīkh by Sujān Rāī.
11. Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī by Kāmgār Khān.
12. Jahāngīr Nāma (in verse).
13. Tārīkh-i-Tāharī by Tāhar Muhammad.
14. Mujmul-i-Muffasil by Mulla Muhamad.
15. Āsār-i-Shāh Jahānī by Muhammad Sādiq of Delhi.
16. Khulasat-ut-Tawārīkh by Mullā Muhammad Nāzim.
17. Muntakhīb-ul-Lubāb by Khāfī Khān.

V.

18. Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāh by Habīb Ullah.

19. Tazkirat-ul-Malūk by Mirzā Rafi'-ud-Dīn.
20. Belgār Nāma.
21. Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī by 'Alī Muhammad.
22. Bahāristān-i-Ghaibi by Shitāb Khān Nīthan.
23. Rayāz-us-Salātīn by Ghulām Husain.
24. Tārīkh-i-Bengal by Salīm Ullah.
25. Tārīkh-i-A'zamī by Muhammad A'zam.
26. Jināt-ul-Fardūs by Mirzā Muhammad.
27. Khyāt by Mehta Nensī (Hindi).
28. Khyāt (Kavirāj's) (Hindi).
29. Khyāt (Mundhyār) (Hindi)
30. Makhzan-i-Afghānī by Ni'mat Ullah.
31. Shash Fath Kāngra by Jalāl-ud-Dīn.

VI.

32. Waqi'āt-i-Asad Beg by Asad Beg.
33. Safar Nāma by 'Abdul Latīf.
34. Maāsir-i-Rahīmī by Muhammad 'Abdul Bāqī.
35. Maāsir-ul Umrā by Shāh Nawāz Khān edited by 'Abdul Hay.
36. Tazkirat-ul-Umrā by Kewel Rām.
37. Rāja Prashasti by Ranchhoṛ Bhatta (Sanskrit).
38. Jai Singh Charita by Mān Kavī (Hindi).
39. Jahāngīr Chandrikā by Keshav (Hindi).
40. Amara Kāvya by Ranchhoṛ Bhatta (Sanskrit).
41. Siyār-ul-Iqtab by Allah Dayā.
42. Mīrāt-ul-Khyāl by Shaikh Ibn 'Alī Ahmad Khān.
43. Safīnāt-ul-Auliyā by Dārā Shikoh.
44. Sakīnāt-ul-Auliya by Dārā Shikoh.

VII.

45. Vicḥitra Nātak by Guru Gobind Singh.
46. Account of Jodhpur by Mehta Nensī (Hindi).

VIII.

47. Inshā-i-'Abdul Latīf.
48. India Office MS, Ethe 2118.
49. Mi'yār-ul-Adrāk by Tughrā.

XI.

50. Jahangir and the Jesuits, by Guerrerio, Translated by Payne.
51. Jahangir's India by Pelsærī translated by Moreland.
52. Early English Travels in India edited by Foster.
53. The First Letter Book of the East India Company.
54. The Court Minutes of the East India Company.
55. Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East.
56. English Factories in India, edited by Foster.
57. Voyage of Peter Floris to the East Indies.
58. Voyage of Thomas Best.
59. Account of India by De Laet, (English translation).
60. Travels of Peter Della Valle.
61. Account of the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India.
62. Journal of a Voyage in the East India by Jourdan.
63. The Voyage of Francas Pyrod.

For minor writers consult the list of European travellers to India and their accounts in Appendix I.

SHAH JAHAN.

I.

1. Ahkām-i-Shāh Jahānī.
2. India Office Persian MS. 370, by Mīr Abu'l Hasan.
3. Aurangzeb's Despatches to Jai Singh.
4. Ruqqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī.
5. Dastūr-ul-'Amal Āgāhii by Āyā Mal.
6. Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī.
7. Fayyāz-ul-Qawānīn by Nawāb Muhammad 'Alī Hasan Khān.
8. Ruqqa'āt-i-'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh.
9. Bahār-i-Sakhun by Muhammad Sālih Kambhu.
10. Nau Bādah-i-Munīr by Abul Barkat Munīr.
11. Jaipur Records.

II.

12. Bādshāh Nāma by Mirzā Amīnāi Qazwīnī.
13. Bādshāh Nāma by 'Abdul Hamīd.
14. Bādshāh Nāma by Muhammad Wāris.

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15. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh by Sujān Rāi.
16. Mujmal-i-Muffasil by Muhamud.
17. Tawārīkh-i-Shāh Jahānī by Muhammad Sādiq.
18. Subh Sādiq by Muhammad Sādiq.
19. Tārikh-i-Bābur-o-Akbar-o-Shāh Jahān.
20. Āsāri-Shah Jahānī of Muhammad Sādiq of Delhi.
21. Bādshāh Nāma by Muhammad Tāhar.
22. Bādshāh Nāma by Kālim.

23. Bādshah Nāma by Mu'tamid Khān.
24. Kulyat-i-Qudsī.
25. Shāh Jahān Nāma by Bhagwān Dās.
26. Intakhāb-i-Waqa'āt-i-Shāh Jāhānī, by Muhammad Zāhid.
27. Hālāt-i-Aurangzeb by 'Āqil Khān.
28. Aurang Nāma.
29. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh by Mullah Muhammad Nāzim.

V.

30. Tārīkh-i-'Alī'Ādal Shāh Sānī by Nūr Ullah.
31. Muhammad Nāma by Zahūr.
32. Qutb Nāma by 'Abdullah.
33. Tawārīkh-i-Haft Kursī.
34. Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī by 'Alī Muhammad.
35. Rayaāz-us-Salātin by Ghulām Husain.
36. Tārīkh-i-Bengal by Salim Ullah.
37. Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shuja'ī by Muhammad Ma'sūm.
38. Tārīkh-i-A'zami by Muhammad A'zam.
39. Latāif-ul-Akhabār by Badī-'uz-Zamān.
40. Jināt-ul-Fardūs by Mirzā Muhammad.
41. Khyāt by Mehta Nainsi (Hindi).
42. Khyāt (Kavirāj's) (Hindi).
43. Khyāt (Mundhyār) (Hindi).

VI.

44. Chahār Chaman by Chandar Bhān.
45. Maāsir-ul-Umrā by Shāh Nawāz Khān, edited by 'Abdul Hay.
46. Tāzkirat-ul-Umrā by Kewal Rām.
47. Rāja Prashasti by Ranchhoṛ Bhatta (Sanskrit).
48. Jai Singh Charita by Mān Kavi (Hindi).
49. Shivā Bāvanī by Bhushan (Hindi).
50. Battle of Ujjain. (Hindi).

51. Amra Kāvya by Ranchhoṛ Bhatta (Sanskrit).
52. Rubā'īyāt-i-Mullā Shāh by Mullā Shāh Badakhshī.
53. Musanavīyāt-i-Mullā Shāh by Mullā Shāh Badakhshī.
54. Mirāt-ul-Auliyā by Shikoh 'Ibn 'Alī Ahmad Khān.
55. Safīnat-ul-Auliyā by Dārā Shikoh.
56. Sakīnat-ul-Auliyā by Dārā Shikoh.

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57. Account of Jodhpur by Mehta Nensī (Hindi).

VIII.

58. Inshā-i-'Abdul Latif.
59. Munishiyat-i-Tabrezi by 'Abdul 'Alī Tabrezī.
60. Ruqqa'āt-i-Shāh 'Abbās Sānī.
61. Inshā-i-Brahman by Chandar Bhān.
62. Chahār Chaman by Chandar Bhān.
63. Ruqqa'āt-i-Bedil.
64. Inshā-i-Ibrāhīmī by Ibrāhīm Turkmān.
65. Ruqqa'āt-i-Hasani by Abul Hasan.
66. Inshā-i-Hamīd-ud-Dīn.
67. British Museum MS. (Sloan MSS 3582).
68. The Pārsinīs MS.
69. Haft Anjaman by Tālī' Yar.
70. Ruqqa'āt-i-Tughrā by Tughrā Mashahadī.
71. Inshā-i-Mullā Shikoh.
72. Inshā-i-Jalāl-ud-Dīn Tabā Tabāī.
73. Ruqqa'āt-i-Qalamī or Nāma-i-Nāmī.

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74. Dastur-ul-'Amal (India Office MS).
75. Khallāq-us-Sayyāq.

76. Zawabāt-i-'Ālamgīrī.
77. Dastūr-i-Jahān Kushā by Khair Ullah.
78. Dastūr-ul-'Amal (Bankipur).
79. Guldasta-i-Saltanat by Chandar Bhān.
80. Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Todar Mal (Rampur MS).
81. Farghang-i-Kārdānī by Jagat Rāi.
82. Hidāyat-ul-Qawānīn (Manuals of officials' duties by Hidayat Ullah).
82-a. Dastūr-ul-'Amal, (Aligarh).

X.

See the list of Sanskrit writers of the reign of Shāh Jahān, Appendix III.

XI.

83. Travels of Peter Mundy.
84. Account of his Mission and Travels by Manrique.
85. Harris's travels (Sir Thomas Herbert).
86. Voyage of Middletone.
87. General description of India by von Twist (In Dutch).
88. Account of travels of George Ardries (in German).
89. English Factories in India.
90. The Court minutes of the E. I. C.

AURANGZEB.

I.

1. Akhabārāt.
2. Munshiyāt.
3. Kalamāt-i-Aurangzeb edited by 'Ināyat Ullah.
4. Aurangzeb's Despatches to Jai Singh.
5. Kalamāt-i-Tayyibāt edited by 'Ināyat Ullah.
6. Ruqāīm-i-Karāim by Ashraf Khān.
7. Ruqqa'āt-i-Ālamgīrī.
8. Dastūr-ul-'Amal Agāhī by Āyā Mal.
9. Ahkām-i-Ālamgīrī edited by 'Ināyat Ullah.
10. Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī edited by Qābil Khān.
11. Fayyāz-ul-Qawānīn by Nawāb Muhammad 'Ali Hasan Khān.
12. Bahār-i-Sakhun by Muhammad Salih Kambhu.
13. Nau Badāh-i-Munīr by Abul Barkat Munīr.
14. Jaipur Records.

II.

15. 'Ālamgīr Nāma by Muhammad Kāzim.

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16. Hālāt-i-Aurangzeb by 'Āqil Khān.
17. Aurang Nāmā.
18. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh by Sujān Rāi.
19. Lub-ut-Tawārīkh by Rāi Bindrā Ban.
20. Maāsir-i-'Ālamgīrī by Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān.
21. Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Shāhi Nādur Zamānī.
22. Tārīkh-i-'Ibrat Muqāl by Qāsim.

23. Tabāsar-ul-Nāzarīn by Sayyad Muhammad Bilgrāmī.
24. Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīrī by Ahmad Qulī Safavī.
25. Mīrāt-i-'Ālam by Bakhtāwar Khān.
26. Mīrāt-i-Jahān Namā.
27. Tazkirat-ul-Salātin-i-Chughtā by Muhammad Hādī.
28. Tārīkh-i-Abu'l Fazl Māmūrī by Abu'l Fazl.
29. Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb by Kāfī Khān.
30. Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī by Ishar Dās.
31. Āina-i-Bakht by Bakhtāwar Khān.
32. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh by Mullā Muhammad Nāzim.
33. Mufid-ul-Mawarakhīn by 'Abdul Shakūr.

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34. Tārīkh-i-'Alī'Ādil Shāh Sānī by Nūr Ullah.
35. Tawārīkh-i-Haft Kursī.
36. Muhammad Nāma by Zahūrī.
37. Qutb Nāma by 'Abdullah.
38. Nuskha-i-Dilkushā by Bhīm Sen.
39. Basātīn-us-Salātīn by Mirza Ibrāhīm.
40. Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī by 'Alī Muhammad.
41. Rayyāz-us-Salātīn by Ghulām Husain.
42. Tārīkh-i-Bengal by Salīm Ullah.
43. Tārīkh-i-Āshām by Shahab-ud-Din Tālish.
44. Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā'ī by Muhammad Ma'sūm.
45. Tārīkh-i-A'zamī by Muhammad A'zami.
46. Jināt-ul-Firdūs by Mirzā Muhammad.
47. Khyāt by Mehta Nensī (Hindi).
48. Khyāt (Kavirāj's) (Hindi).
49. Khyāt (Mundhyār) (Hindi).

VI.

50. Waqi'āt by Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī.
51. Roz Nāmcha by Mirzā Muhammad.

52. Maāsir-ul-Umrā by Shāh Nawāz Khān edited by 'Abdul Hay.
53. Tazkirat-ul-Umrā by Kewal Rām.
54. Rāja Prashastī by Ranchhoṛ Bhatta (Sanskrit).
55. Raj Vilās by Kavi Mān (Hindi).
56. Jai Singh Charita by Mān Kavi (Hindi).
57. Shivā Bāvanī by Bhūshan (Hindi).
58. Chhatra Sāl Charita by Lāl (Hindi).
59. Rubā'īyāt-i-Mullā Shāh by Mullā Shāh Badakshī.
60. Mīrāt-ul-Khayāl by Shaikh 'Ibn 'Āli Ahmad Khān.
61. Masanaviyāt-i-Mullāh Shāh by Mullāh Shāh Badakhshī.
62. Hālāt-i-Hazrat-i-Balāwāl.
63. Dasam Granth compiled by Guru Gobind Singh.

VII.

64. Hadīqat-ul-Aqālīm by Murtzā Husain.
65. Chahār Gulshan by Chatārman.
67. Account of Jodhpur by Mehta Nensī (Hindi).

VIII.

68. Ruqqa'āt-i-Shāh 'Abbās Sānī, compiled by Tāhar Wahīd.
69. Inshā-i-Raushan Kalām Bhūpat by Bhūpat Rāi.
70. Nagār Nāma-i-Munshī Malikzādā.
71. Rayāz-ul-Wadād by Aizād Baksha Razā.
72. Khātūt-i-Shivāji.
73. Letters to Some Mughal Emperors.
74. Kārnāmā-i-Jeth Mal by Jethmal.
75. Ruqqa'āt-i-Nawāzish Khān, Letters of Mukhtār Beg Nawazīsh Khān.
76. Ruqqa'āt-i-Khwaja Husain.
77. Inshaī-i-Fārsī.
78. Carnatic Records.

79. Majmū'a-i-Munshiyāt.
80. Surat Factory Letters of years 1695-96.
81. Inshā-i-Zarbakhsh by Sayyad Muhammad Zayā Chughtāī.
82. Nuskha-i-'Aish Afzā by Saif Khān.
83. Inshā-i-Jān Muhammad.
84. Majmūa-az-Biāz.
85. Farāmīn-i-Muhammad Ṣhāhī-o-Ba'z-i-Shahāni-i Salf.
86. Jāmī'-ul-Qawānīn by Shāh Muhammad.
87. India Office MS, Ethe 2118.
88. Inshā (Bankipur).
89. Ruqqa'āt-i-Hasanī by Abdul Hasan.
90. Inshā-i-Hamīd-ud-Dīn.
91. British Museum Persian MS. Sloan MSS. 3582.
92. The Pārsanīs MS.
93. Haft Anjaman by Tāli'Yar.
94. Ruqqa'āt-i-Tughrā by Tughrā Mashahadī.
95. Inshā-i-Nawāb Saif Khān.
96. Inshā-i-Mullā Shikoh.
97. Ruqqa'āt-i-Amīn Ullāh Husaini.
98. Dastūr-ul-'Amal (India Office MS).
99. Appointment Orders, (Delhi MS).
100. Dastūr-ul-'Amal (Bankipur).
101. Khallāq-us-Sayyāq.
102. Zawābat-i-'Ālamgīrī.
103. Dastūr-ul-'Amal (Aligarh).
104. Farhang-i-Kārdānī by Jagat Rāi.
105. Dastūr ul-'Amal-i-Todar Mal (Rampur MS.).
106. Hidāyat-ul-Qawānīn (Manual of Officers' Duties) by Hidāyat Ullah.
107. Dastūr-i-Jahān Kushā by Khair Ullāh.

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108. Saiyd Nāma by Muhammad Razā.
109. Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī.

110. Majmū'at-ul-'Ālamgīrī by Abdul Khāliq.
111. Tuhfat-ul-Hind by Mirzā Khān.

XI

112. Mughal India by Manucci.
113. A Voyage to Surat by Ovington.
114. Travels in Mughal Empire by Bernier.
115. Travels in India by J. B. Tavernnier.
116. John Marshal in India (edited by S. A. Khan).
117. Account of Mughal India by Thavenot.
118. Voyage and travels into the East Indies by Mandelslo.
119. A New Account of East India and Persia by Fryer.
120. Description of Portugese Asia by Fari-ya-Sonso.
121. English Factories in India by Foster.
122. Court Minutes of the E. I. C.
123. The Journal of the Dutch E. I. Co. in Batavia (The Dagh Register) (In Dutch).
124. A Historical fragment of Mughal India by Orme.

SUPPLEMENT

(274) *Zabdut-ut-Tawārīkh* by Ullahdād Faizī Sirhindī (MS., in the University Library, Allahabad).

This work was composed at the request of Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī. It was completed in 1010 A.H. (1601). The Allahabad MS. runs to 502 pp. Akbar is spoken of here as a deputy (khalīfa) of God. It is a useful summary of the reign of Akbar, usually favourable to him and, as is the case with so many other histories of the reign, hardly ever critical either of the Emperor or his Court.

(275) *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn* by Bāyazīd, Humāyūn's Mīr-i-Sāmān, was written for the purpose of supplying Abu'l Fazl materials for the earlier part of Akbar Nāma. It has been divided into four parts. The first part covers the period between 949 to 953 A.H. The second part comes to Humāyūn's adventures in Kabul, Balkh and Badakhshen after 953 A.H. The third part deals with Humāyūn's final struggle against his brothers and comes to an end with his conquest of Qandahar. Part fourth deals with Humāyūn's reconquest of India, his death and Akbar's reign uptil the year 999 A.H. The transcript in the Allahabad University Library of the only known MS., at the India Office, London, covers 319 pp. As no other MS. of the work is known to exist in India, the following table of its contents should prove useful.

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(276) *Dutch Reports from Gujarat,* Written by the Dutch Factors in India to their correspondents in Holland, form a valuable collection of authentic information about the effects of the famine of 1631 in Gujarat. Mr. Moreland described them in the *Journal of Indian History,* for April, 1925, pp. 68, ff. The MS has been translated from the Dutch by Prof. Brij Narain and would shortly be published with notes by the present writer. It describes administrative methods in Gujarat in the reign of Shāh Jahān. Its description of Ahmedabad, Baroda, Broach, Cambay, is very valuable. Contemporary economic organization in Gujarat is described in detail here. There are two separate sections at the end, one describing manners and customs and another the Parsees.

(137) Bhūshan wrote two works concerning Shivājī, *Shivabāvanī* and *Shivarājbhūshan.* Both of them try to illustrate various forms of metaphors

and similes in Hindi by verses which refer to Shivāji's exploits and character.

Zahīr-ul-Inshā (misprinted Zāhir-ul-Inshā) has been included in the Bibliography to chapter VIII and X of the Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, among the *Primary Sources* of Aurangzeb's reign. This work was written by Zahīr Balgrāmī in 1282 A.H. It reproduces some letters alleged to have passed between Aurangzeb and his son, prince Akbar. All these letters can be traced in other collections of the period. I have not therefore included this modern work on letter writing, using these pieces as illustrations of certain types of letters, in the Bibliography.

Since I began to write this book, a Persian library of first-rate importance has been built up and is rapidly growing at the residence of Dr. Raghuvir Singh, D. Litt., LL.B., the heir to the Maharajah of Sitamau in Central India. The owner has collected a large number of rotographs and micro-films of Persian historical manuscripts existing only in Europe and he is also assembling in one place transcripts of *every* sheet of news-letter (*ākhabārāt*) on Indian history,—after as well as before 1707—to be found anywhere in the world. He has, besides, taken copies of *all* the Jaipur State *ākhabārāt* and records running to more than 35 volumes. This rich and unique mass of historical raw materials, the enlightened prince has made available to scholars in India.

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

R.A.S.B. or A.S.B. . . Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Lahore . . Punjab Public Library, Lahore.

Punjab University. . . Punjab University Library, Lahore.

Bankipur or Patna . . Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipur (Patna).

Sarkar, . . Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Library, Darjeeling.

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA

Page.	Line.	Wrong.	Correct.
17	2	Amān.	Imām.
17	10	Amdit.	'Amdat.
20	10	Add, after the *Dastūr-ul-Amal Āgāhī*, (Ms. Sarkar.).	
47	9	Subh Sādiq.	*Subh Sādiq.*
49	10	Bengal.	Khajwa.
49	29	*Nādur.*	*Nādir.*
51	13	Lubh-ut-Tawārīkh,	*Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh.*
65	1	Add, just before the first line, ud-Dīn written in.	
75	18	Barihelmy.	Barthelmy.
76	15	Bhoge.	Kari.
87	12	Mīraī	Mīrāt.
87	12	Shaikh	Sher Khān.
87	13	Ahmod	Amjad.
88	4	*Jenam.*	*Janam.*
88	9	*Bachītra.*	*Vichitra.*
95	1	Lahore.	Sarkar.
95	2	Gujarat.	Malwa.
135	7	biography	bibliography.
139	23	Vembrey	Vambery.
140	last line	Thevenot.	Thavenot.
142	last line	journal	Journal.
143	6	modern works	works.
144	6	Travernier	Tavernier.
166	2	of	on.
176	4	Nīthan	Nāthan.

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